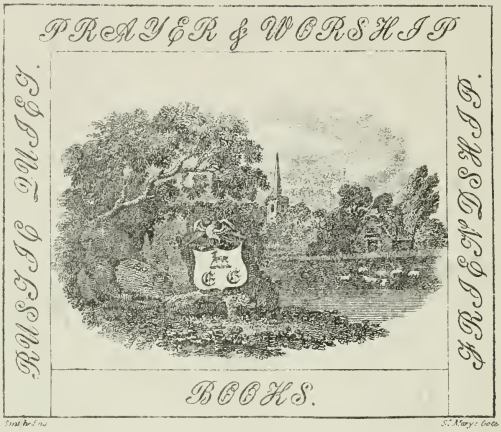

Edward Edwards

Sea View, Niton

James Tibbert

MEMOIRS OF LIBRARIES

OF MUSEUMS;

AND OF ARCHIVES.

By EDWARD EDWARDS.

SECOND EDITION.

The sheets in this volume represent all that were revised for publication by the late Edward Edwards, and are now issued for presentation, as a tribute to his memory, by Thomas Greenwood.

LONDON. 1901.

LIBRARY
SCHOOL

LIBRARY
SCHOOL

PREVENT us, O Lord, in all our doings, with Thy most gracious favour, and further us with Thy continual help; that in all our works, begun, continued, and ended, in Thee, we may glorify Thy holy Name, and finally by Thy mercy obtain everlasting life; through the alone merits of Jesus Christ our Lord.

M761381

MEMOIRS OF LIBRARIES

OF MUSEUMS;

AND OF ARCHIVES;

(PUBLIC AND PRIVATE);

AND OF SOME OF THEIR CHIEF FOUNDERS, COLLECTORS, KEEPERS, AND BENEFACTORS.

PART I. MEDIÆVAL.

PART II. MODERN:—
(LONDON, AND OXFORD.)

BY EDWARD EDWARDS,

AUTHOR OF "REMARKS ON THE MINISTERIAL PLAN OF A METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY EXAMINING-BOARD," (1836);—
OF "THE LIFE OF SIR WALTER RALEGH," (1868);—
EDITOR OF "LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA," IN THE *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain*, MASTER OF THE ROLLS' SERIES; PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE LORDS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY (1866).

Second Edition, revised, continued to 1885, and (in great part) re-written.

NEWPORT, I.W.:
PRINTED BY BRANNON & FRADD, "COUNTY PRESS" OFFICES, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE.
1885.

"They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy. He that now goeth on his way, weeping, and beareth forth good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy,—and bring his sheaves with him."

"A HUMAN SPIRIT here records
"The studies of long years of toil;—
"A human hand hath touched TIME'S chords;
"These leaves may seem but fleeting words,
"And yet—they are 'LIFE'S SPOIL.'"

To the Reverend

CHARLES PLUMMER, M.A.,

(Fellow, Lecturer, Chaplain, and Librarian,
of C.C.C., Oxford);

THIS VOLUME

*(the occasional but strenuous labour of many arduous years,—
several of which have been cheered by frequent acts of kindness
shewn by him, in many ways, to its Writer,—)*

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

WITH FEELINGS OF TRUE REGARD AND ESTEEM, BY HIS
AFFECTIONATE FRIEND AND SERVANT,

EDWARD EDWARDS.

Sea-View, Niton, Isle of Wight,
Queen's Accession Day, 1885.

"CAST thy bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it,—after many days."—ECCLES. xi. 1.

"I SHALL NOT be offended (as I certainly ought not to be) at any due corrections given me by others, Great room there is for *amendments*, as well as *additions;* and either of these, in what dress soever they come,—rough or smooth,—will be very heartily welcome to me."—Archbishop NICOLSON (of Cashel): "*Irish Historical Library*," Pref., p. xxxvi. [Edit. of 1724.]

"AS FOR the remainder of the Work, all that I can say is that it is my design, BY GOD'S PERMISSION, to publish at least another volume. But as for the time, I have been so often deceived in the Printing-House, and also by wrong calculations myself, that I have learnt it is vain to *fix* any time for publication" [otherwise than as a hope].—Edward LHUYD: Appendix to NICOLSON, as above, p. 241. [Same Edit.]

"HE that cannot endure to strive against both wind and tide, shall scarcely attain the Port that he maketh for."—Sir Walter RALEGH (*Circa* 1590).

PREFACE.

THE Work of which a new Edition is now submitted to the Public was published, in its original form, in January, 1859. It then consisted of *three* distinct sections,—only one of which is, at present, reissued. It comprised (1,) A HISTORY OF THE LIBRARIES of GREEK and ROMAN ANTIQUITY, together with—so far as is yet known to me—the *first* and *only* collection, textually complete, of those passages of the Greek and Latin writers in which the Ancient Libraries are described, referred to, or illustrated. That Section I do not propose (at least, for the time,) to reprint. It comprised (2,) A HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN LIBRARIES, complete, as far as the sources of knowledge available, in 1858, admitted. Of this section, a first *instalment* is now before the Reader. Lapse of time has made the historical part of the "MEMOIRS OF LIBRARIES," of 1859, much in arrear. An enormous amount of new information concerning even the oldest Libraries of Europe, and concerning those, necessarily so recent, of America, is now available. And in addition, more than one hundred new Libraries have in our own country alone—Colonial as well as Metropolitan,—been founded. Four-fifths at least of these (reckoning as well the "Free Libraries" of our Colonies as those of the Empire at home,) are the results of those "PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACTS" of 1850, and subsequent years, down to the year of

present publication (as it is hoped), which had their first inception, and origin in the labours, during the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, of the present Writer, and in his evidence before Parliamentary Committees—Acts procured, amidst difficulties and against opposition which, in 1885, seems scarcely credible, by the strenuous effort and perseverance of an eminent Member of Parliament whose name will ever be, most deservedly, linked with the "Free Libraries" of Her Gracious Majesty's whole Empire,—Mr. WILLIAM EWART, the *parliamentary* author of the Library Legislation of 1850 and subsequent years—as will be shewn in due place hereinafter. It comprised (3,) an elaborate TREATISE ON THE LEGISLATION, THE ECONOMY, THE ADMINISTRATION, AND THE PRACTICAL WORKING, OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES. This, also, is (at least for the present) *omitted* from the new Edition; though certain portions of those several topics must needs be adverted to either in the historical part of that "GENERAL INTRODUCTION" which is prefixed to the present volume, or in that review of public Legislation concerning or affecting Libraries which follows.

At the writer's advanced time of life, he could scarcely hope that—in addition to the final revision of this volume (and of its companion volumes, D.V.)—he might be able to give to the economical and administrative section of his former work of 1859 that patient and thorough correction, and improvement in details, which would alone justify him in offering a new edition of *it* to the learned and able Librarians, and to the Lovers of Books, of 1885, and of the years to come.

The "General Introduction" on the whole subject-matter of "MEMOIRS OF LIBRARIES, 1885," aims at tracing in the briefest possible form, consistent with clearness (1,) The foundation and growth of important Libraries both mediæval and modern, up to this date;—(2,) the present *geographical* distribution, and the statistical place of the chief Libraries of the world;—thus shewing, in this one particular, the relative position of the several States of which CHRISTENDOM is composed.

The "Introduction" endeavours, finally, to trace in briefest outline the Public Legislation bearing (directly or indirectly) on the administration of Public Libraries, and on the State-distribution of Public Books,—such books, namely, of every kind as are printed at the cost of the Nation, or produced, in other ways, for governmental purposes.

On the last-named subject the writer has bestowed special care and pains. It is a subject, the importance of which has greatly increased. Thirty years ago, a Select Committee of the House of Commons (presided over by the late Mr. TUFNELL,) reported its opinion that Libraries freely accessible to the Public ought to receive Public Books (whether printed for Parliament, or for any of the various administrative Departments of State,) free of all cost. That recommendation remains yet to be carried out. The recent inquiries into the system pursued for the Promulgation of the Statutes have made it apparent that even as regards that most essential "promulgation," very great anomalies subsist. Substantially, the plan of distribution

existing in 1884 was very nearly what it had been made in 1831. The claims of Public Libraries are still practically ignored; yet there are no books,—unless love of country is (under influence of "the modern spirit,") to be regarded as a thing only of the days that are no more,—the importance of bringing which under the eyes of all men, of what rank and condition in life soever, is greater or more urgent, than books of a governmental character. The Statutes, and the Papers of Parliament excepted, there is no class of books in the wide circulation of which the *Nation* has a deeper interest (especially under recent legislation,) than in that of the invaluable several series of publications printed for the Board of Admiralty;—for the Trustees of the British Museum;—for the Master of the Rolls;—for the Department of Education, Science, and Art;—for the Commissioners of Patents;—and other like Governmental bodies. A more liberal distribution of these, as well as of the "blue-books," proper, to our Public Libraries, would alike promote National Education (in the highest sense of the words), and would do honour to the Government that should wisely organise such a distribution.

It was the writer's strong desire to do somewhat more in the treatment of the subject-matter of the "General Introduction," by adding as an Appendix to it a corrected reproduction, in tabular form, of the "Statistical View of Public Libraries in Europe and in America" which he wrote in the year 1847 (it was, indeed, begun before the Christmas of 1846), and read to the Statistical Society

of London in March, 1848, (at a meeting presided over by the late lamented Earl Fitzwilliam) with eventual results which without vanity or presumption he may say have, in their degree, made an epoch in the Annals of Libraries, not alone in Britain and on many parts of the Continent of Europe, but in most of the British Colonies throughout all parts of the world, and in many parts of the United States of America.

The substance of that "Statistical View" was again given, verbally, to a SELECT COMMITTEE OF the HOUSE of COMMONS UPON PUBLIC LIBRARIES, during the writer's five or six several examinations before it in the Sessions of 1849 and 1850. That Committee was appointed in the first-named Session, on the motion (as I have already reminded the Reader, who may honour this Preface with a perusal,) of Mr. William EWART, and at the solicitation of the present writer, who drew up in English, French, and German, those "*Questions on Public Libraries*" which, through the medium of the Foreign Office, were presented at every Court throughout the world, to which any British Envoy was accredited. The results were published in several "Appendices" to the various Reports of the Committee from 1849 to 1852 inclusive.

Finally, the "Statistical View" was itself reprinted in one of those Appendices; after it had been already reprinted, by the courtesy of Dr. Robert NAUMANN, in the Leipsic journal "*Serapeum*"—the greatest and most valuable repertory of information on LIBRARIES and PUBLIC-RECORD

Offices ever published in any country. That third and Parliamentary edition is hitherto the last. The paper is, I believe, worth reprinting once again, even after the able labours in the same field, of Messrs. Ernest C. Thomas and H. R. Tedder (to be mentioned hereinafter more specifically); but the needful additions and corrections, requisite in 1885, would so largely increase its bulk, that the prescribed limits of this book preclude the gratification of my desire. I the more regret that it is so, because the paper referred to led to a long and somewhat caustic literary and statistical controversy, in the columns of a journal known to literary readers throughout the world—*The* [London] *Athenæum.* The present writer gave a public pledge in its columns to reprint his much-controverted labours, and to establish their substantial and essential accuracy. He did more, for he pledged himself also to shew that such alleged errors as may have been substantiated against him, were errors of *under-statement,* and therefore, in respect of the argument for removing the reproach from Britain of having been, in the middle of the 19th century, less well-provided with freely accessible Libraries, than were many other States, greatly her inferiors, not only commercially, socially, and politically, but inferiors too in Literature and Science, and in the state, generally, of Public Education, strengthened, instead of weakening, that contention, which alone—in 1850—gave public importance even to the merely numerical Statistics of Libraries.

A writer who chooses his own topic has no right to

allege for deficiencies in its treatment the excuse that there was "a lion in the path." It is his business to struggle with difficulties, to overcome them if he may, and to avoid talking about them. To every rule however there is a possible exception. "*Res augusta domi*" should be kept to a man's self, usually. But a published pledge (however unimportant save to a narrow circle of readers) needs a public performance, or a public apology. Only circumstances of personal penury prevent the Writer from republishing the "Statistical View of Libraries in Europe and in America" at his own cost, in redemption of his promise. In 1881 it was in his contemplation so to do, for in that year he was in enjoyment from the University of Oxford, as Calendarer of the State Papers and Political Correspondence known as the "CARTE MSS.," contained in the University's Library, of payments which then averaged three hundred guineas a year. The lamented death of Mr. Henry Octavius COXE led to a change of "Bodley's Librarian." The appointment then made was eminently justified by the high attainments of Mr. COXE'S successor, but the change was to the writer disastrous. The new "Bodley's Librarian" appointed in 1882 new employés in various offices and functions, and dismissed the Writer from his Calendarer-ship, at the beginning of 1883; giving instantly to a new employé the duty of collating and arranging in Chronological Order the Writer's Calendar-slips previously written,—a task requiring more than the labour of a year.

That sudden dismissal utterly deprived the Writer of any assured income whatever. After sixth months of privation and debt he received from Her Gracious Majesty a Literary Pension upon the CIVIL LIST of—*eighty pounds a year*.[1] It was well known that he had been labouring for many years, at intervals, and for one year, 1876-77, wholly and exclusively, upon the book, a volume of which is now in the Reader's hands. And he had been asked as early as in the month of January, 1870, to apply to the then Prime Minister for a Civil List Pension, *i. e., thirteen years* earlier. He refused then, as he refused in 1883, to make any such application; deeming that both the solace and the grace of a grant of that sort rested wholly on its being conferred, by the Crown, without solicitation on his part.

The change of circumstances made it, for very many months, an extremely doubtful problem, whether the deeply-cherished ambition of a quarter-of-a-century—that of removing from the "MEMOIRS OF LIBRARIES," of 1859, some of their many blemishes and *seen* imperfections, and of leaving the labour of many toilsome years less unworthy of the social importance of its subject-matter,—must not (whatever the disappointment and regret of the writer) be finally given up.

It seems very possible that, at first impression, many

1 It dated from July, 1883. A copy of the List of the Pensions of the year, as presented to the House of Commons, is added, as an appendix to this Preface.

Readers,—glancing at my "TABLE OF CONTENTS,"—will incline to charge me with giving too much space to the MONASTIC LIBRARIES of mediæval and of modern times. Indeed, upon occasion of the circulation of my first "Prospectus" of this new Edition, a well-known, and very able, provincial Journalist made himself a little facetious, at my expense, about the Libraries of the "SOLITARIES OF NITRIA," in combination with the date "1884." But if that critic were some day, during his vacation, to introduce himself into the Department of MSS. at our National Museum, Mr. MAUNDE THOMPSON could shew him, in a quarter-of-an-hour, very cogent proofs of the importance—not historical alone, but presently *practical*—of those far-off Collections of the much-contemned Anchorites of the Nitrian desert. Nor would it be absolutely needful for him to go even so far as to the British Museum. Almost any considerable bookseller could place in his hands the deeply interesting and pregnant volume of the late regretted Lord ZOUCHE, entitled "VISITS TO THE MONASTERIES OF THE LEVANT." The evidence of that charming book would, in itself, suffice. And, were it even otherwise, I should not greatly sorrow to err, upon a theme like this, in company with Lord ZOUCHE, and with my honoured friend of former days, Canon CURETON.

My own long-cherished conviction, indeed, of the illustrious part borne by Monks of mediæval and of modern times, as in many other noble and arduous tasks of Christian Civilisation, so also in the erection, the

furnishing, and the maintenance of those great ARSENALS of Civilisation and of Christianization — the Public Libraries of the World, is somewhat out of harmony with certain prevalent ideas. But I am none the less confident in the substantial truth of my opinion that to Monks we are, in the matter of Libraries, primarily and permanently indebted. And that fact is no discovery of mine. I began to learn the lesson forty-six years ago at the feet (so to speak) of the noble MONTALEMBERT. I conned it over again, a long time afterwards, at the feet of Dr. MAITLAND, for so many years the honoured Librarian at Lambeth Palace; and I rejoice to see that a much more recent French author, not so fond or so proud of Monasticism as was MONTALEMBERT—the accomplished and erudite M. Alfred FRANKLIN—has but recently shewn, from MSS. preserved in the National Library of France, that it was to French Monks that the World was indebted for the first really "FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY" ever known to have been opened. When I originally published the book now re-edited, I assigned that credit to a great French Statesman, though of Italian birth, — namely, to Cardinal MAZARIN. To MAZARIN, next after RICHELIEU, the France of other and of (in some respects) better days, owed the consolidation of its illustrious Monarchy, and it was, in 1859, my belief that to him, also, France, and Europe, owed the grand distinction of establishing the first of the now many hundreds of "Free Libraries." As an Ecclesiastic, no respect whatever is due to MAZARIN; as a Statesman (his

love of money excepted) very high respect is due. As a promoter of Learning and of Art, and as the free-handed disseminator of both, he stands out as prominently as he does in the long roll of the moulders of Modern Europe. And though the MAZARINE LIBRARY cannot, after the recent researches of M. Alfred FRANKLIN, take rank as first "FREE LIBRARY," of the world, it still ranges as a very early one. The activities of its monastic predecessors were necessarily on a very humble scale. The monks had good will, but their means were small, and their "public" still smaller. The MAZARINE LIBRARY, on the contrary, had a considerable sphere of activity at the very outset of its existence. It has now, in 1885, an enormous educational influence upon an important part of the youth of Paris. *Esto perpetua!* It is to the undying honour of our own Lancashire that to a Manchester Merchant the distinction of founding the next, in order of time, of our subsisting Free Libraries is due.

The more the Reader does me the honour of studying those amongst the ensuing pages, and the Authorities I employ for them, which relate to MONASTIC LIBRARIES (the older as well as the more recent, — and on both classes I have spared neither research nor toil,) the more, I venture to think, he will be compelled to assent to MONTALEMBERT'S saying:—"As to the 'UTILITY' of "Monasticism—passing over, for the present, its Supreme "Utility, supreme in the eyes of every Christian man, "of Prayer; of the 'life hidden with GOD,'—let us come

"down to the lower 'utility' which alone is appreciated "by those who habitually keep their eyes fixed on earth; "—chained to the things that are transient, and to the "things that bring lucre;—let us ask such men to point, "in the long Annals of the World, to any body of men,— "to any institution,—to any organisation whatever,— "which, at any period, has rivalled, even approximately, "those Monasteries that, for more than ten centuries, "were the SCHOOLS, the ARCHIVES, the LIBRARIES, [*some* "of them, it might have been added, the MUSEUMS,] . . . . "the PENITENTIARIES, the HOSPITALS, and the PUBLIC "GARDENS and PARKS of Christian Society?"[1] I think that this true and fair statement will sufficiently justify the length—not in itself inordinate, or otherwise out of proportion (and for this assertion I have the express warrant of an "Edinburgh Reviewer,"[2] not likely to be overweeningly fond of the works and ways of Monks,)—at which I have ventured to treat of MEDIÆVAL LIBRARIES, and of their Founders.

In dealing—at much greater length, of course,—with the modern Libraries and Museums of LONDON and of OXFORD, I have used my best endeavours to bring the information down to the latest dates; and have, as I believe, used the best authorities, in addition to the personal knowledge of nearly fifty years, taking the two cities together. My intimate knowledge of the Museums,

1 *Les Moines d'Occident*, Introd., CXXV. (Edit. of 1860.)

2 *Edinburgh Review* (1874), Article I.

Libraries, and Archives of LONDON began (I almost dread to remember it) in 1835; my acquaintance with those of OXFORD in 1850—although, for too many years next thereafter, it was but a very slight and incidental acquaintance.

The "LIBRARY RETURNS" of 1849-52, referred to above, contain, as respects several countries of Europe,—contain, that is, in the year 1885,—the *latest official* and general accounts of the progress, and condition, of many FOREIGN LIBRARIES, which have been any where *published* (in any language) or in any form whatsoever.

Still, in the year 1885—no "Book of Reference," as yet published—in any language—gives systematic and annual information on that subject, and on the condition and progress of Museums and Archives,—educationally, so important, and so pregnant with social results. Inquirers and Publicists have to seek it by a multitude of indirect channels. Partially, indeed, the excellent "*Library Chronicle*," so ably conducted by Mr. Ernest THOMAS, and the "*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*," not less ably managed by Dr. O. HARTWIG and his staff of learned collaborators, contribute, from time to time, very important instalments of such information. The search for it is, nevertheless, still attended by much, and by quite needless, difficulty. When the searcher is, as in the writer's case, a very poor man, the difficulty is increased tenfold.

In relation to matters of mere "Trade," and occasionally to inventions, and discoveries bearing upon Trade, the

Foreign Office, it is well known, systematically confers inestimable benefit on the Nation, by instituting and by publishing periodical reports from our Secretaries of Legation. Is the present writer guilty of an unreasonable presumption, if he expresses the hope that, some day or other, a public boon which has widely diffused accurate knowledge, year by year, about Trade and Trading Establishments, may be so enlarged as also to communicate, annually, and regularly, knowledge about the progress and present state, for the time being, of FOREIGN MUSEUMS, FOREIGN LIBRARIES, and FOREIGN PUBLIC ARCHIVES?

Meanwhile, the able authors (Mr. Ernest C. THOMAS and Mr. H. R. TEDDER) of the Article "LIBRARIES," in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (now in course of publication), have done much towards the supply —so far as concerns Public Libraries, and up to the date of 1881,—of the deficiency of systematic *official* accounts, published annually. The statistical table printed at the end of that article is of eminent merit, and I avail myself thankfully of the new information it contains. More recently, the LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM (which in so many ways has largely contributed to the increased efficiency of our Public Libraries, and has conspicuously promoted their interests,) has in a variety of forms, issued useful summaries of such Library Reports as have lately been printed, as well as much like information from other and original sources.

To all of these I have likewise to acknowledge much indebtedness in the preparation of the volume now submitted, as well to future *purchasers*, as to my esteemed Subscribers, of 1883 and 1884.

For, although the announced intention of the writer that his new volumes should not become—in the ordinary sense of the phrase—a "Trade-book" is strictly adhered to, it came to be inevitable that the impression should extend to 500 copies, in order to cover the actual outlay, as well in preliminary expenses, as in paper and print. The Subscribers are still, in 1885, under 200 in number. The remainder of the impression will therefore be offered to purchasers, but only upon the Author's account and behalf.

It has also been found necessary, in order to keep within the limits announced in the Prospectus of this work, to deal with part of the wide subject,—more especially in the Mediæval Section above referred to,—by way of typical and representative *examples* of the more eminent Libraries and Museums of each successive age, instead of attempting an exhaustive account of all that attained, at one time or other, to any conspicuous rank. This modification of the original plan, whilst somewhat abridging the text of the book, has necessarily increased, in a measure, the extent of the "General Introduction" prefixed thereto.

Of many and great obligations (other than those

already noticed) which have been conferred on the writer, in the course of his labour, grateful acknowledgment will (D.V.) will be made hereafter.

EDWARD EDWARDS.

Sea-View, Niton,
Queen's Accession-Day, 1885.

APPENDIX A.

[See PREFACE, page *xiv.*]

"CIVIL LIST PENSIONS OF THE YEAR 1883-84.

"*A LIST of all* PENSIONS *granted during the Year ended 20th June, 1884, and charged upon the* CIVIL LIST. (Presented pursuant to Act 1 Vict. c. 2, s. 6.)

"DATE OF GRANT.	NAME.	AMOUNT OF PENSION.
"1883:		£ s. d.
"23 August	MR. EDWARD EDWARDS - - - - - - In recognition of his valuable services to the cause of Literature.	80 - -
"23 August	MR. MATTHEW ARNOLD - - - - - - In recognition of his distinguished literary attainments and his eminence as a Poet.	250 - -
"15 Dec.	THE REV. CHARLES C. SOUTHEY - - - - - In consideration of the great literary merit of his Father, Mr. Robert Southey.	100 - -
["1884: "30 January	MRS. MARY ANTOINETTE MONCRIEFF - - - - In consideration of the narrow circumstances in which she has been left on the death of her husband, Commander L. N. Moncrieff, R.N., who was killed in the discharge of his duties as Her Majesty's Consul at Suakim.]	100 - -
"9 February	MR. FREDERICK JAMES FURNIVALL - - - - - In recognition of his services to English Philology and Literature.	150 - -
"26 February	SIR RICHARD OWEN, K.C.B. - - - - - - [In addition to the Pension of 200 *l.* a year granted to him in 1842, in recognition of his eminent services to Science.]	100 - -
"1 May	MR. JAMES AUGUSTUS HENRY MURRAY, LL.D. - - - In consideration, and for the promotion, of his valuable services to Philology, especially in connection with his work as Editor of the New English Dictionary.	250 - -
"11 June	MR. WILLIAM NEILSON HANCOCK, Q.C., LL.D. - - - In recognition of his valuable services as a Statistician.	170 - -
	TOTAL - - - £	1,200 - -

"Treasury Chambers,
"July, 1884."

LEONARD COURTNEY."

"261."

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS, JUNE, 1885.

His Grace the [late and lamented] Duke of MARLBOROUGH, K.G., *Blenheim Palace, Woodstock.*

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of MACCLESFIELD, *Shirburn Castle, Tetsworth.*

The Rt. Hon. the Lord WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE, *Compton Verney, Warwickshire.*

The Very Reverend the DEAN OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, AND CHAPTER (*per* the Rev. the LIBRARIAN), *for the Chapter and College Library.*

The Very Reverend the DEAN OF WINCHESTER, AND CHAPTER (*for the Cathedral Library: per* the Rev. F. T. MADGE, M.A., *Chapter Librarian*).

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION of FRANCE. TEN COPIES.

M. Léopold DELISLE, *Member of the Institute of France; Director-General of the National Library of France.*

The Hon. the CORPORATION of the CITY OF LONDON (for the Library at the *Guildhall*).

The Trustees of the ASTOR LIBRARY of the City of New York.

The RADCLIFFE TRUSTEES, Oxford, for the Radcliffe Library (*per* H. W. D. ACLAND, Esq., M.D., C.B.)

The Curators of the BODLEIAN LIBRARY, Oxford.

The Curators of the TAYLOR INSTITUTION, Oxford.

The Library of the UNIVERSITY of CAMBRIDGE (*per* H. BRADSHAW, Esq., M.A., *Librarian*).

Sir William HARDY, F.S.A., *Deputy Keeper of Her Majesty's Public Records, Rolls House, London.*

Ernest C. THOMAS, Esq., M.A. (*Trin. Coll., Oxford*), *Hon. Secretary of the Libraries Association of the United Kingdom*, 2 *Gray's Inn Square*, *Gray's Inn*, *London.*

The Corporation of the City of Liverpool.

The Corporation of the City of Manchester.

The Corporation of the Borough of Birmingham.

The Committee of the "Old Library," Birmingham (*per* C. E. Scarse, Esq., *Librarian.*)

The Corporation of the Borough of Preston.

The Corporation of the Borough of Salford.

The Public Libraries Committee of the Corporation of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The Corporation of the Borough of Cambridge (for the Free Town Library; *per* John Pink, *Librarian*).

The Free Public Library Committee of the Borough of Portsmouth (*per* T. D. A. Jewers, Esq., *Librarian*).

The President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (*per* Rev. F A. Clarke, M.A., *late College Librarian*).

The Principal and Fellows of Brasenose College, Oxford (*per* Rev. John Wordsworth, M.A., *Bampton Lecturer*).

The President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford (*per* Rev. H. Austin Wilson, M.A., *College Librarian*).

The Master and Fellows of Balliol College, Oxford (*per* Evelyn Abbott, Esq., M.A., *Librarian*).

The Principal and Fellows of Jesus College, Oxford (*per* D. J. Ritchie, Esq., *College Librarian*).

The Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford (for the College Library; *per* Rev. R. L. Clarke, M.A., *Librarian*).

The London Library, *St. James' Square* (*per* Robert Harrison, Esq.)

The Mitchell City Library of Glasgow (*per* F. T. Barrett, Esq.)

The Library of the London Institution, *Finsbury Circus* (*per* Edward W. Byron Nicholson, Esq., M.A.)

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[*A like Summary concerning Museums of Natural History exclusively, and Museums of Art and Antiquities exclusively, will (D.V.) be prefixed to the intended continuation of the present Volume.*]

CHAPTER I.

THE LIBRARIES OF ASSYRIA, OF EGYPT, OF GREECE, AND OF IMPERIAL ROME.

"In Asia's sea-like plain
Where slowly, round his isles of sand,
Euphrates through the lonely land
Winds towards the pearly main,
Slumber there is,—but not of rest;—
There her forlorn and weary nest
The famished hawk has found;
The wild-dog howls at fall of night,
The serpent's rustling coils affright
The traveller on his round;—
What shapeless form half-lost on high,
Half-seen against the evening sky,
Seems like a ghost to glide?

Watching from BABEL's crumbling heap,
Where, in her shadow, fast asleep,
Lies fallen imperial Pride?
With half-clos'd eye a lion there
Is basking, in his noon-tide lair;

* * * *

But where are now those eagle wings,
That sheltered erst a thousand Kings,
Hiding the glorious sky
From half the Nations, till they own
No holier name, no mightier throne?—
—*That* vision is gone by." . . . . .

—John KEBLE: *The Christian Year*.

"A great LIBRARY cannot be constructed: it is the growth of the Ages. You may buy books, at any time,—with money; but you *cannot* make a Library, like one that has been for Centuries a-growing; even though you had the whole [amount of our] National Debt to do it with."—John Hill BURTON; *The Book-Hunter* (2nd Ed., p. 169).

GENERAL INTRODUCTION. PART I. CHAPTER I—THE LIBRARIES OF ASSYRIA, OF EGYPT, OF GREECE, AND OF IMPERIAL ROME.

Assyrian and Babylonian Archives and Libraries.

1. THE most salient fact in the History of the Libraries of Antiquity is that we possess, in the nineteenth century of the Christian Era, a more real and intimate knowledge of those of them which were founded in remote ASSYRIA, almost seven centuries before the Advent of our Blessed Lord, than we have of those which were established in familiar ROME, in the very century of that Holy Advent, amidst scenes which are as truly present to the imagination of readers of classical books, as are the palaces or the streets of 17th-century London to the minds of the readers of John EVELYN or of Samuel PEPYS. The most imaginative of readers cannot, indeed, form any idea of the social life of Assyria as clear and vivid as a very ordinary reader may form of the social life of Rome, in the days of CICERO, or in those of HORACE. But no existing Library in the world can put into its visitor's hand a volume which might have been actually handled by CICERO or by HORACE, although, to inspect thousands of those inscribed tablets which formed the Library of ASSURBANIPAL, "the Great

King," a student has but to enter the British Museum, or to pay a visit to the Louvre. In the former, he may hold in his hand a letter addressed by certain citizens of Darâta to MERODACH-BALADAN (III.), King of Babylon, the contemporary and the correspondent of HEZEKIAH. Innumerable phrase books; syllabaries; dispatches; law-reports; commercial contracts; official Reports of provincial governors,—of masters-of-the-horse,—of generals,—of stewards,—of astronomers-royal; Treatises on astrology, on eclipses, on grammar; Collections of astronomical observations; Annals of the several kingdoms of Assyria, of Elam, and of Babylonia; and Annals of campaigns in Egypt, in Palestine, in Elam, in Media, and in many other countries;—all these are but partial fragments of an enormous collection of inscribed tablet-books,—exceeding 10,000 in number,—constituting the "Royal Library of Assyria," as it existed in the seventh century B.C.[1] M. MENANT has shewn cogent reasons for the belief that this library was made a public one by ASSURBANIPAL, for the general use of his subjects.[2] That it was classified, methodized, and catalogued, is certain. The British Museum contains, with some other catalogues, one[3] that is, substantially, a list of what Mr. MUDIE would call a "SELECT LIBRARY;" a collection, namely, not of the *best* books, nor of choice books of any sort; but of those most in current and popular demand. And a very curious selection of "Standard Works" it is;—as curious at the

1 PINCHES: *Assyrian Antiquities in British Museum* (1883), 140-181. Comp. OPPERT in *Archives des Missions, &c.*, v. 179, *seqq.*

2 *Bibliotheque du Palais de Ninive* (1880).

3 It is exhibited in the Table-Case marked "C, § 2," tablet No. 9 (in the Kouyunjik Gallery).

least for B.C. 685, as is Mr. MUDIE'S list of "Standard works" for A.D. 1885.

2. Nor is it less curious to note that half-a-century ago not one fragment of this vast library-treasure was known, by any one of us, to exist. As recently as in the year 1838 the most studious of archæologists knew as little of the hidden treasures of the mounds on the Tigris and the Euphrates as was known to Sir Robert Kerr PORTER, on that earlier day,—towards the close of the preceding century,—when he drew rein before the mysterious Babylonian mound, at "Birs Nimroud," on the Euphrates, and sketched in his note-book a passing incident of travel which the Christian muse of John KEBLE has immortalized. In 1840 Austen LAYARD, almost exactly like PORTER, stopped his horse to gaze at the neighbouring mounds of Kouyunjik and Nibbi-Yunus, on the Tigris. PORTER looked at the like sight with the eye of an artist, "in search of the picturesque;" LAYARD (though a clever and true artist also), in the thoughtful mood of a Christian archæologist, familiar with his Bible, and accustomed to ponder on that close connection of Past with Present, which to a really reflective mind is the most self-evident of truths. Gazing on a mere heap, as it seemed, of the accumulated rubbish of some thousands of centuries, it flashed on LAYARD'S thoughts that beneath the rude heap of earth he was glancing at, some deep secrets of a bygone world must needs lie concealed. The "Kouyunjik Gallery" of our National Museum is but one of a multitude of results which have already accrued—directly and indirectly—out of those searchings of heart, of April, 1840.

Beginnings of Assyrian Decypherment.

LAYARD's first visit preceded by nearly two years the earliest excavations of M. BOTTA and of his colleagues, in the neighbourhood of Khorsabad. And every year that now rolls on adds to the results, already so fruitful. Before that date, all that was really known of Assyrian Inscriptions had been drawn from a few casually-discovered cylinders and slabs, on the decyphering of which GROTEFEND, ST. MARTIN, RASK, and Sir Henry RAWLINSON had successively laboured, with admirable zeal, but, as yet, with very slender outcome.[1]

Egyptian Libraries.

3. There are dim records—rather legendary than historical—of a great Egyptian Library, that of OSYMANDYAS (RAMSES I?), at the "Ramseseum" near Thebes, which preceded that of ASSURBANIPAL at Nineveh by more than seven centuries. But in 1885 little more is really known of it, even by the pupils of Gardner WILKINSON and of Richard LEPSIUS, than was known (B.C. 50) to DIODORUS of Sicily,[2] whose record of the inscription over its door—"*The Soul's Dispensary*"—will never be forgotten. LEPSIUS believed that he had

1 Grotefend was first in the field. He read a memoir on some inscriptions, Assyrian and Persian, to the Royal Society of Göttingen, as early as in 1802. St. Martin continued Grotefend's researches in succeeding years. Rask took up the subject in 1826. Rawlinson, when—in 1835—at Kermanspah, on the western frontier of Persia, began to work in the track marked by Grotefend. In the following year, his labours on the Behistan inscriptions (which were communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1837) marked a new epoch in the interpretation of cuneiform literature. Burnouf's labours in this fruitful field began in 1836, but most of them were carried on after the discoveries of Layard and of Botta. Burnouf's translations were collected and published in 1847. Those of Dr. Hincks were partially published in the same year. (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ix. art. 8; x. § 2, *passim*; and App. 401, *seqq.* See, also, Id., vols. xii. art. 9 (1850); xiv. *passim* (1854); xv. arts. 1, 2, and 6 (1855); xvi. art. 8 (1856); xviii. art. 2 (1861); and *New Series*, i. arts. 6, 8 (1865); iii. art. 1 (1868); and *Trans. of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii.)

2 Wesseling's Edit. of Diod. Sic., i. 58.

discovered the tombs of two successive Librarians of this Ramsesian collection.[1] But of its actual contents nothing whatever has been truly ascertained. Three facts, however, about Egyptian Libraries are well established:—(1) That they were the constant appendages, alike of the temples of the idols, and of the tombs of the Kings;—(2) that whereas many public libraries, existing in the present day, suffer more from governmental taxation than they enjoy by governmental grants and encouragements, it was the habitual practice of Egyptian governments, much more than two thousand years ago, to make free appropriations of land for the support of such institutions;[2]—(3) that at the time of the Persian conquest of Egypt, the books contained in them were so numerous, as to make as conspicuous a feature in the spoils which the invaders carried back with them into Persia, as were, in the too-well-remembered recent years, 1870 and '71, those choice art-manufactures of Paris and of Lyons, with which the then invaders of France loaded its Northern-railway trains for gratuitous transit into Prussia.

4. The Ptolemeian Libraries of Alexandria rank next, in historical significance, after the wonderful "tile[3]-book" libraries of Assyria and of Babylonia. Their wealth of books was the wonder of ancient times, and their ultimate fate has turned out to be a pregnant puzzle which

1 LEPSIUS: *Chronologie der Ægypter*, 39 (Ed. of 1849). Comp. WILKINSON: *The Ancient Egyptians*, i. 111-117;—CHAMPOLLION: *Lettres sur l'Egypte*, 285;—and OSBURN, *Monum. Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 459.

2 OSBURN, as above, i. 277; 310.

3 "... Son of man, take thee a tile, ... and pourtray upon it the city, *even* Jerusalem."—*Exek.* iv. 1.

The Ptolemeian Libraries of Alexandria.

has sorely disturbed the repose of many successive generations of classical scholiasts and critics in modern times.

5. The rude foundation of the earliest of the two great libraries of Alexandria was laid by PTOLEMY SOTER; the real organization of both was the work of his successor, P. PHILADELPHUS, who placed part of the vast number of books which he had gathered in the Bruchium (or "Brucheion") quarter of his capital; part, in that called Serapeum (or "Serapeion"). For a long period of time the former was the principal; the latter the secondary collection. The best-accredited statement—said to rest, originally, on the authority of two successive librarians of Alexandria, CALLIMACHUS and ERATOSTHENES—assign to the Bruchium Library 490,000 volumes (or rolls); to the Serapeum 42,800.[1] This estimate may be attributed to an approximate date of, at latest, B.C. 220. The librarian CALLIMACHUS (second, in order, of the *five* clearly-known Librarians of the Ptolemeian Kings, and himself the successor of ZENODOTUS) is believed to have prepared classified catalogue-slips *(Pinakes)*—arranged, it is said, in no fewer than 120 sections—of the Library of the "*Brucheion*," as it stood in his day. These "*Pinakes*" included, it is also believed by competent scholars, a considerable series of writings falsely ascribed to ARISTOTLE—for example, Dialogues entitled "*Nerinthus;*"

1 Ritschl has very ably investigated the many confused questions which have arisen out of the conflict of authorities concerning these libraries. He inclines to accept the numerical estimate given in a scholium of Tzetzes, as better authenticated than are the figures (collectively) given by Aulus Gellius —700,000 (*Noctes Atticæ*, vi. 17), or those of Seneca—400,000 (*De Tranquillitate Animi*, 9). But comp. with the excellent essay *Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken* (22, *seqq.*);—Bonamy's much earlier paper in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Insrip.*, ix. 10, *seqq.*;—and Theodor Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen* (1882), 489, *seqq.*

"*Erythus, or a Dialogue concerning Rhetoric;*" "*Menexenus;*" "*The Lover;*" and by other the like peculiar designations; together with treatises "*On Suffering*" (*Peri tou paschein*); "*On Contraries,*" and the like; all indicative of a then-current "*Aristotle*" quite different from ours, compiled, in all probability, when the true writings were lying buried in the vault at Scepsis, in Asia Minor, as we shall see presently; and the "short titles" of which it was composed corresponded with the "letterings" of the rolls, as they stood on the library shelves. This catalogue HEITZ—who has investigated, with great research and ability, all the questions connected with the lost, the suppositious, the garbled, and the doubtful, works ascribed to ARISTOTLE—dates between the years 240 and 210 B.C.,[1] and he is also of opinion that the compilation of the catalogue was the work, not of CALLIMACHUS himself, but of HERMIPPUS, his assistant in the Library. But, be the *authorship* as it may, that early attempt at bibliography, made 2,100 years ago, is thus curiously linked with burning questions of philosophical criticism, which are likely to have an interest for scholars in ages yet to come.

6. Those Alexandrian libraries are believed to have flourished under the successors of P. PHILADELPHUS—who may probably himself be entitled to the honourable epithet of "first establisher of literary and scientific missions to foreign countries"—for almost two centuries thereafter. Then came the undesigned destruction of the Bruchium Library by fire, when JULIUS CÆSAR burned the Alexandrian fleet (B.C. 48), and its restoration by

1 HEITZ: *Die Verlorene Schriften des Aristoteles* (1865), 45, *seqq.*

ANTONY and CLEOPATRA; in part by incorporating the plundered Library (containing perhaps 200,000 volumes) of the Kings of Pergamus. In A.D. 273 it was again, in all probability—there is no direct proof—destroyed, during the invasion of the Emperor AURELIAN. The thenceforward principal Library of Alexandria, that of the Serapeum, survived until about A.D. 390, when it also was destroyed, under THEODOSIUS. The alleged crime of the much-abused "Caliph OMAR" having been, in truth, anticipated by Christian Vandals exactly two centuries and a half earlier.

Greek Libraries.

7. Half-a-score, or less, of incidental passages in Greek and Latin authors, and of casual allusions in annalists, are the sole surviving authorities for our very slight knowledge of GREEK LIBRARIES, properly so-called. With scarcely an exception, these testimonies are not contemporary with the institutions they speak of, but are the statements of long-subsequent compilers.[1] The reader will find the texts of nearly all of them in the first edition of the book now, in part, reprinted. The sum is but this: PISISTRATUS, POLYCRATES of Samos, EUCLID of Athens, NICOCRATES of Samos, EURIPIDES, and ARISTOTLE, were all—in greater or less degree—notable as book-collectors. Of the library of ARISTOTLE, only, is the account circumstantial; and, very probably,

1 *E.g.* STRABO, ii., and xiii. 609. Comp. PETR. VICTOR: *Variar. lect.*, xxv. 7;—PLUTARCHI *Antonius*, 58; *Æmilius*, 29 (8); *Sulla* [Indirect allusions only]; *Lucullus*, 42;—DION. CASSIUS, xlii. 38 [Greek Libraries of Alexandria];—ATHENÆUS: *Deipnosoph*, i. 4;—VITRUVIUS, vii. *præf.*;—A. GELLIUS, as above;—ISIDORI *Orig.*, vi. 3. Xenophon, also, has a brief mention of a library formed by Euthydemus.

intermingled with romantic fable. Bequeathed to THEOPHRASTUS, and by him to NELEUS, it was carried to Scepsis in Asia Minor, and there became, for a hundred and eighty years, "a buried treasure," that it might not be seized as literary prey by the book-coveting Kings of Pergamus. Sold, so long afterwards, to APELLICON of Teos, it wandered to Athens; after the purchaser's death fell into the hands of SYLLA, and by him was carried to Rome; becoming, by that pregnant incident, an epoch-mark in the literary history of the world; since, when once landed in the then centre of civilization—such as it was—many learned Greeks got an access to the collection, which seems to have been denied at Athens; TYRANNION, the friend of CICERO, classified and catalogued it (*circa* B.C. 80);[1] ANDRONICUS of Rhodes obtained from it the precious manuscripts—many of them, in all probability, in the hand of the Stagyrite himself—which enabled him to construct a recension of ARISTOTLE's writings (*cir.* B.C. 60) that became thenceforth, and is in our own day, the current "*Aristotle*" which has so powerfully helped to mould the formative education, the philosophic thought, and not a little of the daily life, of some sixty generations of our race. Under ANDRONICUS' influence and guidance, a new "Peripatetic School" arose (the long-prior labours of THEOPHRASTUS, EUDEMUS, STRATON, and the rest, who were the immediate philosophic successors of ARISTOTLE,

1 Compare the elegant and admirable Article, "Aristotle," of Sir Alexander Grant, in ninth edition of "*Encyclopædia Britannica*," one of the many articles in that really *new* edition of a time-honoured work, which reflect credit alike on the liberality of the publishers and on the skill and learning of the writers. *(O si sic omnia!)*

having fallen almost into oblivion), by the result of whose successive labours the previously-current texts of "*Aristotle*" were swept out of existence, and a quite new body of writings made current in their stead, and endued with a perennial vitality.

8. The Libraries of Pergamus rivalled those of Alexandria. The one notable name, out of a long line of forgotten Librarians, that yet survives is that of EUPHORION of Chalcis, poet and grammarian. He filled the office under ANTIOCHUS the Great, *circa* B.C. 221 (according to SUIDAS). The ultimate fate of the chief Pergamean Library I have told already.

Roman Libraries.

9. Of the Libraries of ROME we have, very naturally, far better and fuller accounts than we have of those of Greece. For amongst those who collected the choicest of them were CICERO and ATTICUS, and the formation, alike of the earliest and of the largest, forms part of the annals of Roman conquests in Macedonia, in Persia, and in Greece. ÆMILIUS PAULUS brought to Rome the Library of PERSEUS, in B.C. 167, and it was eventually divided between his sons, who seem to have shared more of his love of letters than of his love of arms. Exactly a century later, LUCULLUS founded a public library out of the spoils he had won in his Eastern campaigns. Asinius POLLIO followed the example, by founding another, on the Aventine Hill, the cost of which was defrayed out of the spoils of his campaign in Illyria. J. CÆSAR formed a systematic plan for public libraries to be established in various parts of Rome, but

did not live to see the execution of a project, the carrying out of which fell to the lot of AUGUSTUS, who established two at least, if not more. The first of these (33 B.C.) was dedicated to OCTAVIA, and in forming it he seems to have remembered the advice given to Terentius VARRO by CICERO: *Si hortum in bibliotheca habes, nihil deerit.*[1] Its first librarian was C. MELISSUS. The second Augustan Library was built on the Palatine Hill, under the librarianship of J. HYGINUS, the grammarian. Both had the fate of being destroyed by accidental fires, though at distant dates, and both, it would seem, were restored by DOMITIAN, who imitated the example set by the Ptolemies, and set a staff of copyists to work at Alexandria for the old Libraries of Rome, and also established a new one on the Capitoline Hill. The Ulpian Library took its foundation and its name from ULPIUS TRAJANUS, and soon outstripped, both in extent and in intrinsic value, all the earlier collections of the city. *Circa* A.D. 360-70 the Public Libraries of Rome are said to have been twenty-eight in number. There was also one at Como, another at Tibur, and a third at Milan.[2] Within less than a century the invasions of the hordes of barbarians swept

1 "In Books, *and Gardens*, thou hast placed aright
(Things, both, which thou dost truly understand,
And both dost make, with thy accomplished hand,)
Thy very noble, innocent, delight."
—Abraham COWLEY to John EVELYN (1665?)

2 CICERO: *Epp.* i. 7, 10; iii. 4;—*ad divers.*, vii. 23, &c.;—PLINY: *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 30; xviii. 5, &c.;—A. GELLIUS: *N.A.*, xi. 19; xvi. 8;—JUL. CAPITOLINUS: *Hist. Aug.* (*Script. Hist. Rom.*, Ed. 1743;—"Heid," ii. 370;—FLAV. VOPISCUS: *Hist. Aug.* (Par. 1620.) 229. A somewhat fuller—though brief—and, in some respects, a better summary than my needful limits have permitted me to give above, will be found in Messrs. E. C. Thomas and H. R.

away every library, it would seem, of Pagan Rome, with the sole exceptions of those buried libraries, concealed amidst the ruins of Herculaneum and of Pompeii, which, like the buried Aristotelian collection at Scepsis, lay hid for centuries, but not, like it, to yield to the ultimate discoverers any treasures of learning profitable to future ages. Much of what has been unearthed in the vicinity of Mount Vesuvius has testified, mainly, to the decadence and the crapulence of the original collectors. It has yielded but very little that bears witness of their real civilisation, or that can contribute in any way to ours. Fragments of Epicurus, of Philodemus, of Polystratus, and of other Greek writers of like rank, are amongst the best results of laborious and long-continued endeavours to rescue from the heaps of volcanic ashes, of sand, and of lava, the remnants of considerable libraries, one of which must have contained nearly two thousand volumes.[1] The artistic remains thence brought to the Museum of Naples are far more considerable—as is widely known from the *Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano*, and other similar works,—but too many of those art-remains are worse than contemptible; they are noxious.

Tedder's Art. "LIBRARIES," in *Ency. Brit.*, NINTH Edit. (1882), xiv. 511, 512. (The Art. "LIBRARIES" of the EIGHTH Edition, and also that on "LIBRARIES, Economy of," were, both of them, from the pen of the present Writer.)

1 The best English narrative of the endeavours to recover and unroll the Herculanensian papyri, &c., is that of Sir Humphrey Davy, printed in *Phil. Trans.* (1821), i. 191-201, *seqq.* The earlier experiments of 1754-55 are also narrated in *Phil. Trans.*, xlix. 113. Eight of the "*Herculanensium voluminum quæ supersunt*," appeared at Naples, between 1793 and 1844. By the kindness of the Royal Society's Council, I reproduced, in 1858, (from the original plates, now in the Society's Library,) most of Davy's illustrations.

CHAPTER II.

The Church Libraries of Jerusalem, of Cæsarea, of Constantinople, and of Rome.

> To further the instruction given in the Schools,—to provide every needful help to the studious Clergy,—the Churches [in early times] had their Libraries, which were enshrined with the most useful books that were attainable. . . . . From these early provisions for the training of the Clergy made in the Churches . . . . . came [much of] the culture of our Christian teachers.—Andres: *Dell' origine, de' progressi, . . . d'ogni Letteratura*, i. 159 [abridged].

General Introduction. Part I. Chapter II.—Primitive Church Libraries.

10. The Earliest account we possess of the formation of a Library, by Christians, is that which Eusebius of Cæsarea gives[1] of the collection made at Jerusalem by Alexander, Bishop of that city, *circa* A.D. 212. In Eusebius' time (*cir.* 330), it contained an important collection of the correspondence of eminent ecclesiastics of the third century. And of this collection the historian made great use in the compilation of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*. It is probable that Origen assisted in its foundation. But little is known concerning it beyond what is contained in the paragraph in Eusebius.

Early Church Libraries of Palestine.

Of the more important Church Library at Cæsarea in Palestine there is incidental but repeated mention in the writings of St. Jerome. One of these reads thus:—"In this library [at Cæsarea] there was . . . . . [preserved]

1 *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vi. 20.

'the supposed Hebrew orignal of St. Matthew's *Gospel*,'[1] which is probably the book, in the same collection, which he (St. Jerome) elsewhere describes as a '*Gospel* in Syro-Chaldaic, used by the Nazarenes.'[2] In another work JEROME says: 'I have been somewhat diligent in 'searching for copies . . . . of the *Apology for Origen* 'by PAMPHILUS. In the Library of EUSEBIUS, at Cæsarea, 'I found six volumes. . . .'[3] That library contained copies of the greater part of the works of ORIGEN, made by PAMPHILUS himself.[4] The originals of the Hexapla were there, and JEROME corrected his copy from them.[5] Before the time of JEROME this Library had fallen more or less into decay, but endeavours to restore it were made by two successors of EUSEBIUS—by ACACIUS, A.D. 340, and by EUZOIUS, A.D. 366.[6] Of EUZOIUS, Saint JEROME says, on the authority of THESPESIUS Rhetor: 'He strove with great labour to refurnish . . . . the 'library of ORIGEN and PAMPHILUS, which was already decayed.'[7] ISIDORE of Seville (writing in the year 636), asserts that the library of PAMPHILUS at Cæsarea contained nearly 30,000 volumes."[8]

1 HIERON., *de Vir. Illust.*, c. 3; as quoted by W. E. Scudamore in the able article on Early Ecclesiastical Collections which he has contributed to the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, 985, seqq.—a most valuable and admirable compilation to which I have to acknowledge much indebtedness.

2 Id., *contra Pelag.*, lib. iii. c. 2.

3 Id., *contra Rufin*, lib. ii. c. 12.

4 Id., *de Vir. Illust.*, c. 75.

5 Id., *Comment. in Tit.*, lib. iii. c. 9.

6 Id., *Ep.* 34 *ad Marcellam*, § 1.

7 Id., *de Vir. Illust.*, c. 113.

8 ISID., *Origines*, lib. vi. c. 6.

Church-Libraries of Constantinople.

11. The well-known letter of the Emperor CONSTANTINE to EUSEBIUS, concerning the supply of sumptuously written copies of select portions of the *Holy Bible* for the libraries of certain newly-founded Churches in Constantinople, both implies the prior existence of libraries as part of the ordinary equipment of a Christian Church, and suggests that such liberal gifts would naturally become the germ of new libraries. "Let there be written," . . . . says the Emperor, "by calligraphic artists, thoroughly skilled in their art, fifty volumes of the Sacred Writings, such as are most necessary for the supply and use of the Church, on well prepared parchments, legible and portable for use."[1] . . . . . .

and of the Empire.

12. In spite of desolating and almost unceasing wars, and of many other calamities, the Libraries of Churches were an object of constant care. New collections were formed: old ones were augmented or restored. There is a long series of evidences—secular as well as ecclesiastical—to this effect, which extend over many centuries, and are full of interest. One or two citations will shew the character of this testimony concisely and sufficiently:—"In 787 a great stimulus was given to the formation of Libraries in Cathedral Churches within the dominions of CHARLEMAGNE, by an order issued by him for the establishment of Schools in connection with them.[2] Such schools obviously implied a good collection of books. A later edict of the same prince, after providing that there be set up schools of reading-

1 EUSEBIUS, *De vita Const.*, iv. 36.

2 This Edict is printed by LABBE, *Conc.*, v. 1779; and is quoted by Scudamore, in *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, as above.

boys, adds, 'Let them learn the *Psalms*, notes, chants, the art of determining the seasons, and grammar, in every monastery and episcopal church. Let them also have Catholic books, well corrected."[1]

13. These laws of CHARLEMAGNE would certainly lead to the foundation of Cathedral Libraries, where they had not existed before. It is probable that the smaller libraries found in connection with many other churches owe their origin, in a great measure, to a similar edict of LEWIS in 816. By this, bishops were ordered to see "that the Presbyters had a missal, a "lectionary, and other books necessary to them."[2] What some, at least, of these "other books," supposed to be necessary, were, we may gather from the following list in an ancient Polyptychon, preserved in the Church of ST. REMIGIUS, at Rheims:—"A book of the Gospels, a psalter, an antiphonary, a breviary [*i. e.*, a table of the *Gospels* for the year, in which they were indicated by their first and last words], a computus, an order of baptism, a martyrology, a penitential, a passional, a volume of canons, forty homilies of St. GREGORY."[3] "As soon as such a collection went beyond the requirements of the service,"—as in this case it did,—"the foundation of a Church Library was already laid."[4]

1 *Capit.*, ann. 789, c. 70.

2 C. 28, *Capit. Reg. Franc.*, i. 569.

3 Ibid., ii. 1159.

4 SCUDAMORE, *ubi supra*.

Church-Libraries of Rome.

14 At Rome, we have—not, indeed, accounts—but allusions, many in number, and various in origin, to similar libraries; as, for example, mention of one by St. HILARY as existing in the Lateran Baptistery (A.D. 461); of one at St. Peter's (A.D. 649);[1] but there is evidence that the Roman collections so often mentioned were frequently destroyed, or dispersed, during the constant warfare, riot, and plunder which disturbed the empire from the fifth to the eighth centuries. "In our regions," say the Roman bishops, in reply to an imperial summons for their attendance at the third Council of Constantinople (A.D. 680), "war is every day raging. . . . Our whole life is full of care. . . . The ancient maintenance of the Churches has fallen away."[2] On the other hand, there is also evidence that repeated attempts were made to restore what was so often destroyed. But, for several generations, the available collections in the Latin part of the Empire were conspicuously inferior to those in the Eastern regions. What is said to that effect, over and over again, by various writers in the sixth and seventh centuries, is still repeated, by our own BEDA, in the eighth.[3]

1 Contemporary narrative, quoted by LABBE, *Concilia*, v. 1884.
2 Contemporary letter, also printed in LABBE, Ib., vi. 681.
3 E. g. *Hist. Ecclesiastica*, v. 20.

CHAPTER III.

Magnitude of the debt we owe to Monks, as in Literature generally, so especially in Bibliography; in the Economy of Libraries; and in the advancement of the invention and general diffusion of the Art of Printing.

> Only a few years ago, when professional erudition was exhausting itself in Commentaries on Pelasgic or Etruscan ruins, and was falling into ecstasies at sight of the fragments of a Roman road, a gross ignorance prevailed of the present appropriation, even of the very sites, sometimes, of those glorious metropolises of Christian virtue and of Christian learning which were once called "Cluoni;" "Citeaux;" Fleury;" "Marmoutier." To learn where those marvellous creations of Faith and Charity once stood, you must have recourse to old maps, or old books of topography. For, too frequently, you would in vain inquire about them of a race brutified by sceptical "philosophy," and by rampant materialism. The answer would be such an one as a traveller might meet with from the Bedouins of the African Desert, should he question them about the genealogy of the Pharoahs, or the Annals of the Thebaid.—Translated[1] from Montalembert, *Moines d'Occident*, Introd., cev. (Edit. of 1860).

15. A List of the books composed by Monks, at various periods in the grand history of Monachism, both Eastern and Western, would include several of the greatest, the most pregnant, and most widely influential books that ever came from uninspired minds. It would include some of the noblest commentaries upon Holy

1 It is from no want of respect to the fair and accomplished authoress (Mrs. Margaret Oliphant) of the English translation of the Count of Montalembert's very noble book that I have—here, as everywhere else,—made my own translations. They were (many of them) made a year or two anterior to the appearance of her work. Mrs. Oliphant, I may, perhaps, without impertinence, be permitted to add, is to myself a favourite and a beloved writer, so that it would be a new pleasure—added to many literary pleasures which I owe to her graceful pen—to have, had it been possible, quoted her version. But, although I am proud to own a score or two of her books,—her "*Monks of the West*" is not one of them.

SCRIPTURE that, in any age, have aided the diffusion of Christianity and the development of the Christian life. It would also include a long series of manuals in philosophy, in the physical sciences, and in the arts, that—regard being had to their several dates and to the circumstances under which they were respectively composed—may truly be described as models in their kind. The books *transcribed* by Monks would include a long series of the actual MSS. from which the first printers worked. And it is to Monks that we owe alike the first foundations of the science of Bibliography, and the first systematic regulations for the formation, the classifying, the preservation, the cataloguing, and the administering of Public Libraries.

16. The few words about books which occur in the primary "Rule of St. Benedict" (A.D. 530,) are so framed as to imply that even at that date the monks had access to a considerable collection of the works of the Fathers of the Church. Successive revisions of that Rule during the same century (A.D. 553, *Ferreolus*, c. 19; A.D. 595, *Isidore*, c. 9:) give further and minute details which shew the quick growth of the early monastic libraries, the increasing use made of them, and also increasing providence on the part of their keepers for careful handling and safe preservation.[1]

17. CASSIODORUS, the virtual founder of the monastery of Vivarium (*cir.* 562), seems to have united the

1 Mr. Scudamore, in the article of the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (§ "Libraries;" ii. 985, *seqq.*), already mentioned, has summed up with great clearness and conciseness the chief evidence on these points. I have largely and very thankfully profited by that paper,—as well in this chapter, as in that which immediately precedes it.

offices of Abbot and of Librarian. He collected books from far-distant places; actively promoted the making of transcripts in the Scriptorium, and was keen in his research for books of secular literature, as well as for books of divinity. He appears to have possessed, in good measure, that love of orderly arrangement which is, and must be, the palmary quality of a Librarian. Without it, the amplest store of learning, the keenest love of books, and the ripest power of discriminating their respective values, even if combined with those qualities of the "man of business," which some writers —strongly imbued with what they call "the modern spirit"—are specially fond of exalting, will prove to be insufficient. A century later, we have another example of an eminent monastic librarian in Benedict Biscop, first Abbot and first Librarian of the Monastery of Wearmouth.

18. Beda tells us that Benedict made five journeys to Rome, and that he brought back with him no inconsiderable number of books, in all branches of sacred literature; many of which he had received as gifts; the others he had bought. After his return (about the year 672) from his fourth journey he founded two monasteries,—those of Wearmouth and Jarrow,—or, as Simeon of Durham records it, to shew how closely they were united, one monastery on two sites. He then made yet another journey into Italy, whence he returned with a new supply of "spiritual merchandise," more abundant than before. He brought also, adds Beda, paintings of sacred subjects for the adornment of the Church, to the

intent that all comers, however ignorant of letters, might contemplate the ever gracious countenance of Christ and of his Saints, if only as through a veil, darkly. The founder died in 690—his death being probably accelerated by the fatigues of his frequent journeys amidst many hardships—and on his death-bed he gave repeated injunctions for the strict preservation of that "most noble and rich library which he had brought from Rome" with so much care and pains.[1] One of these precious volumes, however, CEOLFRID, his disciple and successor in the Abbacy, was prevailed on to relinquish at the earnest entreaty of King ALFRED of Northumberland, who is said to have granted to the monastery eight hides (according to the glossarists at least 800 acres; perhaps not less than 960) of land in exchange for it. CEOLFRID, although he yielded this long-coveted volume to his King, largely added to the store, like a faithful disciple. By his zeal, the libraries, we are told, were almost doubled in extent. But the noblest result of BISCOP's foresight, and of his successor's perseverance, is to be seen in the studies and labours of their common biographer, BEDA, who was born in the year (674), from which the foundation of Wearmouth monastery is usually dated, and was the pupil of its founder; whilst in the neighbouring convent most of his life was passed. When we read the pious and vigorous pages which are among the best legacies of that age, we unconsciously profit by those earlier books, so laboriously

1 Bedæ *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, lib. iv. c. 18 (*Engl. Hist. Soc.*, p. 388, § 205); *Vita Ceolfridi Abbatum Benedicti*, etc. (*E. H. S.* 49, *et seq.*): Simeon Dunelm. *apud* Twysden: *Scriptores decem* c. 4; Dodsworth and Dugdale: *Monasticon*, i. 501–503.

obtained by Benedict Biscop, and so religiously preserved until the ravages of the Danes devastated the whole countryside. We need not go quite so far as to say, with William of Malmesbury,[1] that in Beda's grave all care for Antiquity in England was "buried" for almost four centuries. For that would involve forgetfulness of the labours of Beda's first and most illustrious translator, and of the little band of monks who worked with him, and under him, amid the perils and the toils of constant warfare. It would also involve forgetfulness of Alcuin, the beloved friend of a greater than Alfred. Alcuin's career began in Yorkshire, and, probably, was continued at Canterbury. Be that as it may, there is certainty that it was to Canterbury he was journeying when an accident of travel made him known to Charlemagne, and changed all his plans of labour and of life. It is certain, too, that at his death Beda did not leave his peer. Nor do we find record of any monk—settled in England—so illustrious, in respect of culture, as was Biscop—Beda's master,—for several generations thereafter.

18. The tradition that Alcuin was the pupil of Beda lacks, alike, proof and probability. But to an eminent contemporary of Beda, Alcuin owed his first instruction, as student and as bibliographer. Archbishop Egbert had founded a library immediately on his return from Rome and elevation to the Archiepiscopal dignity; and it was admidst that "infinite number of excellent books"[2] that Alcuin learnt the use of his noble gifts,

1 *Gesta regum Anglorum*, lib. i. § 63.

2 Such is the expression of Bishop Godwin, *De præsulibus*, &c. § Egbert.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION. PART II. CHAPTER III. MAGNITUDE OF THE DEBT WE OWE TO MONKS.

and acquired his lifelong devotion to literature. It was to York that he looked back so fondly when suffering from the comparative penury of books in the cloisters of St. Martin at Tours; and in his poetical catalogue of its treasures he does not forget to sound the praises of the beloved master who had gathered them:—

Archbishop Egbert's Library at York.

"Tradidit ast alii caras super omnia gazas
Librorum nato, Patri qui semper adhæsit,
Doctrinæ sitiens haurire fluenta suëtus:
Cujus ut curas proprium cognoscere nomen,
Fronte sua statim præsentia carmina prodent,
His divisit opes diversis sortibus; illi
Ecclesiæ regimen, thesauros, rura, talenta:
Huic sophiæ specimen, studium, sedemque, libros que,
Undique quos clarus collegerat ante *Magister*,
Egregias condens uno sub culmine gazas.
Illic invenies veterum vestigia Patrum,
Quidquid habet pro se *Latio Romanus* in orbe,
Græcia vel quidquid transmisit clara *Latinis*:
Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit imbre superno,
Africa lucifluo vel quidquid lumine sparsit.
Quod Pater *Hieronymus*, quod sensit *Hilarius*, atque
Ambrosius Præsul, simul *Augustinus*, et ipse
Sanctus *Athanasius*, quod *Orosius* edit avitus:
Quidquid *Gregorius* summus docet, et *Leo* Papa;
Basilius quidquid, *Fulgentius* atque coruscans,
Cassiodorus item, *Chrysostomus* atque *Johannes*,
Quidquid et *Althelmus* docuit, quid *Beda Magister*,
Quæ *Victorinus* scripsere, *Boëtius*; atque
Historici veteres, *Pompeius*, *Plinius*, ipse
Acer *Aristoteles*, Rhetor quoque *Tullius* ingens.
Quid quoque *Sedulius*, vel quid canit ipse *Juvencus*.
Alcuinus et *Clemens*, *Prosper*, *Paulinus*, *Arator*,
Quid *Fortunatus*, vel quid *Lactantius* edunt.
Quæ *Maro Virgilius*, *Statius*, *Lucanus*, et Auctor
Artis grammaticæ, vel quid scripsere Magistri
Quid *Probus* atque *Focas*, *Donatus*, *Priscianusve*,
Sermus, *Euticius*, *Pompeius*, *Comminianus*.

Invenies alios per plures, lector, ibidem
Egregios studiis, arte et sermone Magistros,
Plurima qui claro scripsere volumina sensu:
Nomina sed quorum præsenti in carmine scribi
Longius est visum, quam plectri postulet usus."[1]

19. Well might ALCUIN, in the early days of that exile at Tours—remembering with affectionate regret these companions of his youth,—urge CHARLEMAGNE to permit him "to send into Britain to procure those books which we so much need; thus transplanting into France the flowers of Britain, that the garden of Paradise may not be confined to York, but may send some of its scions to Tours; and that we too may say, in the words of Holy Scripture, *Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat his pleasant fruit.*"[2]

20. Probably, none of ALCUIN's many fruitful labours was more really potent, as a factor in the early civilisation of Europe, than was the labour he bestowed, in turn, on his disciple, RABANUS Maurus, who, like so many of the heads of monasteries in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, held the librarianship of his abbey as a sort of "*commendam*"—held, however, not for increased gain, but for increased toil—to its headship. Before his transfer to the archbishopric of Mentz, he had worked as Abbot, and as Librarian, at Fulda, for twenty years. His career is of especial interest to Englishmen, for he was, in a limited but true sense,

1 ALCUINI: *De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclessiæ Eboracensis poema.* Ex MSS. Codd. Remensi et Sancti Theodorici prope Remos; apud GALE, *Historiæ Britannicæ . . . . Scriptores* XV., iii. 730.

2 ALCUINI: *Epistola ad Car. Mag.* (*Opp.* i. 52).

the pupil of our own St. BONIFACE (WINFRID of Northumbria, the great Apostle of Germany, and the proto-martyr of Frisia,) as well as of our own ALCUIN. RABANUS was the architect and builder of his library, as well as its working administrator. But the first books he placed in his new building were remnants of the books of BONIFACE, whose murderers (at Doken, in East Frisia,) after their bloody deed, ransacked the martyr's library; scattered the books, at random, over meadow and marsh, whence some of them were soon reclaimed by pious hands, and were carried to the Church of Fulda, as to a place of safety. RABANUS was wont to shew to visitors—as his successors sometimes shew to them, I believe, at this day—as the *special* treasures of his library, a Book of the *Gospels*, said to have been written with the martyr's own hand; a *New Testament*, which had been his dear companion; and a volume of tracts of St. AMBROSE, containing the treatise *De bono mortis*, and several others. This volume was, and is, most justly regarded with veneration. It was in the martyr's hand (as it seems) when his murderers came to him; and it is stained with his life-blood.

21. Before RABANUS left the librarian's seat at Fulda, for the archiepiscopal throne at Mentz, he had made his library a model for other monastic collections. And he made himself beloved as a prelate; as he had previously made himself beloved as a monk. In both capacities, as in his special function of librarian, he did work which endured. We shall have occasion to see, hereafter, that the work of transcription, carried on under his direction at Fulda, proved also to be of fruitful

example elsewhere. As Librarian, he had eminent disciples, some of whom became exemplars in their turn.

Monkish Commentaries on Scripture of the so-called "Dark Ages."

22. I have ventured to say—in the first paragraph of this Chapter; and in direct contravention, as I am too well aware, of very much of current opinion on that subject—that it is to Monks we are indebted for many of the noblest Commentaries upon Holy Scripture that are, even in this year of Grace, 1885, yet extant. And I was rash enough, when I first drew up the "Table of Chapters" for my present volume, to hope that I might be able to devote at least half-a-score of pages to a (necessarily brief and rapid) enumeration of some splendid instances in that kind. But the almost oppressive wealth of my more immediate and proper subject restrains my hand. I must content myself with but a few words upon *one*, and only one, typical example of such Commentaries as I had then in my mind. It is but one of a host. And I the more readily retain, as such typical example, THOMAS of Kempen's immortal book, "*The Imitation of Christ*," because I have seen (*since* I began to correct the proof-sheets of these pages,) a very recent mention,—from the able pen of Archdeacon MURRAY of Connor,—of the "*Imitation*," which mention that learned and estimable writer thought it necessary to introduce to his readers, of 1885, by the very characteristic, and very remarkable, question: "*Can any good thing come out of the Monasteries?*"[1] I should, myself,

1 MURRAY: *The Great Books of Christendom;* in *Church of England Sunday School Mag.*, 1885—(No. for January).

have humbly thought that the question was a quite superfluous one (at any date of time); seeing that some of the best vegetables and the best fruits that form part of our "daily bread," and are therefore part of the subject-matter of our "daily thanksgiving," came, instrumentally, and in England (or in Ireland), for the *first* time, out of MONASTIC gardens;—since many of the shrubs and of the trees which every day of our lives refresh and delight our labour-wearied eyes, were *first* planted by MONASTIC hands;—since many of the best contrivances and appliances (*pace* the worthy "agricultural-implement makers" of our "Great-Exhibition" days) for that improved agriculture, to which, primarily, we owe much of the relish and the savour of our daily bread, aforesaid, originated in broad MONASTIC fields, and in big MONASTIC barns. The *Imitation of Christ*, too,—so far from being an *exceptional* instance of a noble monkish book, had,—from monkish cells, many a worthy predecessor, and many a worthy successor. And it would have been strange, indeed, had the fact been otherwise. What distinguishes the production of the admirable Canon of Agnetenberg from the productions of a host of worthy congeners, both earlier and later, is matter, not of substance, but of form. Unusual simplicity and homeliness of *style*, combined with the author's soaring elevation of mind, soul, and spirit, towards the Source of all good gifts, gave quick popularity to his book, which is as truly a "Commentary" on the Holy Bible, and especially on the Holy Gospels, as if it had been expressly so entitled. A book that is at once passionate in its aspirations

Thomas à Kempis' "*Imitation of Christ.*"

towards God the Father, and towards God our Blessed Redeemer, and towards God the Holy Spirit;—profound, in its philosophic basis and structure;—and intensely practical in its hortatory deductions and applications, when once it had received the garb of a homely and lucid style, must needs become a popular book. And the more popular—in earlier and humbler times—because pre-eminently devout and reverent in its *tone*. THOMAS of Kempen says, in striking opposition to very many sayings that in our days are very current,—current, too often, from the lips of men who, like him (though in a different branch of Holy Church), have taken Holy Orders,[1]—(in more than one place), that Holy Scripture "should be read in the spirit in which it was written."

23. No book—next after the BIBLE itself—has been so often reprinted;—none has been translated into so many languages;—none so frequently re-translated for wider currency;—none has more commonly proved to be a fruitful seed-plot, whence—next after the Bible itself—other writers have derived some of their best inspirations, and aspirations, for writing other books, alike congenial and congenital. The very arrangement of THOMAS HAEMMERLEIN'S book is at once instructive and suggestive. Beginning with admonitions to the Spiritual Life; he proceeds to give appliances for habitual self-examination. Thence, he passes to the consolations, in general, of the devout Christian; and winds up his grand theme by a special commentary on

1 See, *e. g.*, "*Revised Version*" of *O.T.* (May, 1885), Job xix. 25.

the institution, and the reverent reception, of the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, which is alike admonitory in its warning; soothing, inspiriting, and precious, in its consolations. The mind that could be caught up as if "into Paradise," and could "hear words unspeakable," could also express in the most lucid and impressive form, the blessed excellences of absolute silence. Why, he asks in an admirable hortatory passage,—"Why do Christians talk so much, when they know so well that they rarely return into silence without bringing with them some hurt of conscience?" I often think that those words dwelt in John BUNYAN's memory when he penned his portrait of "Mr. Talkative"—a personage so familiar to all readers of late years.[1]

24. Another of the many *Monastic* "Great Books of Christendom,"—here, of necessity, noticed only by way of very scanty sample,—is the "*Mirror of the Life of Christ*," long ascribed to St. BONAVENTURA, but more probably written by GIOVANNI da S. Geminiano, a Tuscan Friar-Minor, and written, perhaps, about 1370. It is a work that was widely circulated for many centuries in MS.; was translated from the Latin into most of the languages of Europe; by many independent translators into our own:—amongst those translators are several who came to be illustrious, alike in Church and State.

JOANNES de Cantibus.

1 "Mr. TALKATIVE is a tall man, something more comely at a distance *than at hand*." . . . . [*Do you ask the subjects of his talk?*] . . . . "*What you will.* I will talk," says he, "of things Heavenly, or of things Earthly; of things Moral, or of things Evangelical; of things Past, or of things to Come; of *things Foreign*, or of things at Home; of things Essential, or of things Circumstantial;—*provided* all can be done——to OUR profit."—BUNYAN: *Pilg. Prog.* There is no need, in June, 1885, to add the (three) *initials* of the antetype.

The aid given by Monks to Printing in its cradle.

25. THOMAS HAEMMMERLEIN (of the Augustinian Convent of St. Agnes' Hill, near Utrecht) wrote his *Imitation* —in its earliest form—just at the eve of the invention of Printing. In all probability, he was still revising it, when other monks were actively encouraging the introduction of Printing into several Dutch towns. In many parts of Holland, as in many parts of Germany, of Italy, and (somewhat later) of France, and of Switzerland, the Monks of almost all monastic Orders were busily active in helping the early printers, who, when driven by the scourge of war from Mentz, found their best friends in monks and in other ecclesiastics,—in Prelates pre-eminently—just as GUTENBERG himself, fifteen years earlier, had found like assistance from the Carthusian monks of that city when he, too, was in straits and in peril.

26. Nor is it unimportant, in this aspect of the matter, to note that not only did the Carthusians assist GUTENBERG—perhaps, as early as in the year 1445,—at which date he was, in all probability, still working with *wooden* types—but the Mentz Benedictines gave valuable help, a few years later, to Peter SCHOEFFER (soon to become GUTENBERG'S partner) in *his* early experiments with metal types, when he first laid his plans for producing the noble Mentz *Psalter*, although it did not actually appear until 1459.[1]

1 The series and sequence of the tentative efforts which led to, and resulted in, the production, before 1450, of the Bible known as the *Mazarine Bible* may be dated, roughly, as follows:—(1) Engravers' work produced by a rude press in Holland, *cir.* 1400;—(2) Application of a like process to engraving in relief—text with figures, *cir.* 1425; (3) Use of moveable wooden

The aid and encouragement given to the Art of Printing by Monks.

27. The Netherlands received the Mentz invention through the channel of Cologne, and mainly by the instrumentality of the "Brethren of the Common Life;" of the Benedictines of several Flemish and Dutch Abbeys; and other monastic communities; and by secular priests of various rank. By one of the first-named bodies, printing was brought to Brussels in 1472;—by the Benedictines to Deventer in 1477, and into Zealand,[1] 1478;—by the Carthusians to Namur in 1485;—by Augustinian Canons to Schoonhoven,[2] 1495;—by the Franciscans to Schiedam in 1498.

28. The Augustinians brought printing to Savona in 1474;—thence it spread to Milan. The Benedictines brought the art into the Abbey of St. Colgal, near Barcelona, in 1489. By Augustinians, presses were set up in the College of Lerida in the same year. Cistercians established printers at Dijon in 1491; and at Zinner, near Wittemberg, in 1492. Franciscans did the like at Dinan in 1493. The Nuns of St. James, at Ripoli, in Tuscany, in 1482. As early as in 1483, Augustinians settled printers at Troyes. More than sixty years passed before the need of a press was felt at La Rivoine, hard by Troyes; but when one came to be established there, the measure was still the act of monks—those of

types by Coster at about the same date;—(4) Use of cast metal types—as in 4th edition of Speculum, *cir.* 1433;—(5) Gutenberg's experiments at Strasburgh, *cir.* 1435; and at Mentz, *cir.* 1445;—(6) Those of Schoeffer with improved metal types, 1453. Gutenberg testified his gratitude to the Carthusians by the gift of a considerable series of the productions of his presses. (SCHWARTZ: *De Origine Typogr.*, ii. 4, *seqq.*)

1 At St. Martin's Abbey, near Tholen.

2 The first Schoonhoven printer was brought from Delft.

the Order of Citeaux, who set Nicholas PARIS to work in their Abbey.

29. The Benedictines of the famous Abbey of Montserrat, in Catalonia, were not content with so common a piece of monastic duty as that of setting up a printing-press in their Abbey. They entered into a formal league with eighteen other Communities, dependent or related, for the systematic dissemination of the art. . . .

30. These are fewer than half the instances of which I have made notes, as tending to shew how extensively the Monastic Communities gave liberal encouragement to the fathers and disseminators of Printing. If to monastic patronage that of Bishops and of Archbishops —many of them Monks also—were further to be noted, the mere enumeration would indeed become almost interminable. Had it occurred to the learned querist in our recent Church of England Magazine—"*Can anything good come out of Monasteries?*"—to glance, *in limine*, at the "Annals of Printing," he would probably have hesitated before suggesting any such inquiry. "*Caxtons*" are commonly held to be "good things," alike by the purchasers who love books, and by the bookselling-tradesmen who love money. Assuredly, very many of these Caxtons came "out of the Monasteries." In the Abbey of St. Albans, the Monks printed many beautiful books at a date very little later than the date of CAXTON'S establishment in the Abbey of Westminster. The Benedictines of Tavistock, and the Augustinians of Canterbury, did precisely the like.

31. But—most unhappily for the "query" of Archdeacon MURRAY—the HOLY SCRIPTURES themselves come, *to us*, "out of the Monasteries." Many of our best sacred texts are in the scription of monastic hands; were written in Monastic Libraries and Scriptoria: were alike reverently preserved, and liberally disseminated, by the hands of cenobites. The popular outcry against Monachism, as antagonistic to the circulation of the Bible, has but a slender foundation of fact to rest upon; and that foundation, slight as it is, is further restricted to narrow periods of time, and to special peculiarities of place and circumstance. Much, too, of what was done by Monks, in mediæval times, for spreading Biblical knowledge—with due and needed appliances—was done with open-handed generosity, in reverent obedience to the Divine injunction: *Freely ye have received, freely give.* Whereas much of what is done in our own day in the like direction is done with a direct view to mercantile profit: and in strict obedience to that spirit of *rampant commercialism* which, in other spheres of action, is day by day lowering England in the scale of Nations, and imperilling the most precious interests of all Christendom.

CHAPTER IV.

The Monasteries of the Nitrian Desert.

> The Archæologist cannot, like the [philological] Scholar, carry on his researches in his own Library, independent of outward circumstances. . . . . He must travel, must excavate—collect—transcribe, . . . before he can place his subject before his mind.
> —Charles Thomas Newton: *On the Study of Archæology*, 26.

32. Monastic History may be said to begin with those communities in the secluded valley of Nitria, the small remains and the large ruins of whose rocky abodes have attracted so many visits in quite recent days, with results which have become very memorable in literary history. The foundation of the earliest of those ruined Convents is lost in the mists of remote antiquity. But it is certain that about the year 330, at latest, there already existed rude hermitages in the Nitrian Desert, and that ere long that Desert came to be as crowded with monks as a hive with bees. For many generations the valley so peopled with ascetics appears to have excited far-spread curiosity; shared, in course of time, by Mohammedans as well as by Christians. The Communities have long since dwindled into comparative insignificance. The few monks that remain are commonly ignorant even of their own history. Of their most ancient and picturesque abodes the very sites can, in many cases, be traced only amidst doubt and difficulty. But for the student, and most especially for the student of Theology and of the History of the Church, that lonely and barren valley will have an endearing charm,

as the scene, in primitive days, of the self-denying vigils, and of the literary labours, of many pious men, who, amidst whatsoever large admixture of corruption, or of folly, had a firm grasp on much of vital Christian truth; and who were, in some respects, and in their degree, the prototypes of the greater "Monks of the West." It will also have another and scarcely less permanent interest as the long buried mine whence, in far subsequent centuries, and in our own, the assiduous and patient researches of a series of explorers and of scholars —notable, in the roll, the ASSEMANIS and TISCHENDORFF; our own HUNTINGTON; TATHAM; Lord ZOUCHE; Lord PRUDHOE—drew rich treasures. And thus the recent acquisitions, the record of which fills some of the most salient pages in the annals of Western Libraries, come to be closely linked with the pursuits, the studies, and the historical incidents, of the pristine monastic life of the East, fifteen hundred years ago.

33. Of the very little that is known of the first origin and subsequent growth of those Nitrian Libraries which have recently excited so much of renewed literary curiosity, the chief source is a series of isolated inscriptions upon individual manuscripts. They are full of interest. But they afford no adequate material for the annals of the Collections whence they came. The narrative that is best worth the telling, in pages such as these, consists in a brief summary of the researches of Travellers. And it may well be restricted to those of the last two or three centuries.

34. Perhaps, the earliest notable allusion to the manuscript wealth of the Levantine monasteries, within those limits, is to be found in the all-embracing correspondence of PEIRESC, who in matters of bibliographic research has left his mark almost everywhere. He learnt from GILLES DE ROCHE, that a traveller in Egypt had then recently seen, in a monastery, a library of about *eight thousand* volumes.

It is probable, from more than one circumstance of the incident, that the Library so visited and so reported of, was that of the Monastery of St. Mary Deipara, or "of the Syrians," now so famous.

35. In 1646, we find Jean MAGY, a merchant of Marseilles, writing to SEGUIER, Chancellor of France, thus:—"My partners, the Merchants of Egypt, now in Paris, tell me that your Excellency is desirous to have the works of St. Urfremé [St. Ephræm Syrus], and a list of the Manuscripts of the Convent of St. Macaire and of other Egyptian Monasteries." And he adds that he had written to his factor in Egypt to give all possible furtherance to the Chancellor's object.[1]

36. About the year 1680, Robert HUNTINGTON, afterwards Bishop of Raphoe, visited the Monasteries of the Nitrian Desert, and made special and eager search for the Syriac version of the *Epistles of St. Ignatius*, of the existence of which there had been wide-spread belief amongst the learned, since the time of Archbishop USSHER. But his quest was fruitless, although, as it is

1 Correspondence of SEGUIER, in Ség. MSS., *Bibl. Nat.*, printed by Delisle: *Le Cab. des MSS.*, ii. 87.

now well known, a Syriac version of some of those Epistles did really exist in one of the Monasteries which HUNTINGTON visited. The Monks, then as afterwards, were chary of showing their MSS., very small as was the care they took of them. The only manuscripts mentioned by HUNTINGTON, in recording his visits to three of the principal communities—St. Mary Deipara, St. Macarius, and El Baramous—are an *Old Testament* in the estrangelo character; two volumes of Chrysostom in Coptic and Arabic; a Coptic *Lectionary* in four volumes; and a *New Testament* in Coptic and Arabic.[1]

37. Towards the close of the following century, these Monasteries received the successive visits of SONNINI de Manoncourt, of William George BROWNE, and of General Count ANDREOSSI. SONNINI says nothing of books. BROWNE says that there were visible but few—among them an Arabo-Coptic *Lexicon*, the works of ST. GREGORY, and the *Old* and *New Testaments* in Arabic—although he was told by the Superior that they had nearly eight hundred volumes, with none of which they would part. General ANDREOSSI, on the other hand, speaks slightingly of the books as merely "ascetic works, ... some in Arabic, and some in Coptic, with an Arabic translation in the margin;" but adds, "We brought away some of the latter class, which appear to have a date of six centuries." This was in 1799. BROWNE died in 1814; SONNINI de MANONCOURT in 1812; Count ANDREOSSI survived until 1828.

1 *Observations of Travel*, as reprinted in John Ray's *Collection of Curious Travels*.

38. In the year 1827, the late Duke of Northumberland (then Lord PRUDHOE) made more elaborate researches. His immediate object was a philological one, his lordship desiring to further Mr. TATTAM'S labours on a Coptic and Arabic Dictionary. Hearing that "Libraries were said to be preserved, both at the Baramous and Syrian Convents," he proceeded to El Baramous, accompanied by Mr. LINANT, and encamped outside the walls. "The monks in this Convent," says its visitor, "about twelve in number, appear poor and ignorant." They pretended to be in possession of no books, save service-books, kept in their Church. These they were quite willing to shew. But a seductive little gift (tending to the amelioration of the monastic diet) led, next day, to an acknowledgment that there was a Library, with a goodly number of MSS. in it. These to the Duke, were quite as seductive as table delicacies had been to the worthy Monks. He put aside some choice ones, and begged that they might be taken, for fuller examination, to a neighbouring cell. The cell became presently the scene of a lively "haggling of the market." The noble book-lover, after long discussion, obtained the assent of the Chapter to his desired acquisition, and also to the adding thereto of a transcript (to be made by the one member of the community who was a penman) of a choice "*Selim*," or *Lexicon*. To the specified number of tempting dollars, another tempting supply of rice, coffee, and tobacco, was to be added These solitaries of El Baramous, who seemed to the Duke so "poor and ignorant," and whose appreciation of manuscripts was a purely commercial one, had at all

events acquired a taste for the pleasures of the refectory.

39. At the Convent of St. Mary Deipara the illustrious visitor—illustrious not alone as a scholar, but as also, in very various ways, a most munificent public benefactor; therein following the footsteps of so many noble Percies;—

> "Renowned in their deeds, as far from home,
> For Christian service and true chivalry,—
> As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry
> Of the world's Ransom, Blessed Mary's Son,"—

found things in a far worse state than he had found them in at Baramous. He had to descend, by a trap-door, into *this* monastic library, and when down had to stand upon the leaves and fragmentary "gatherings" of MSS.—Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Arabic. "In appearance," writes the Duke, "it seemed as if, upon some sudden emergency, the whole library had been thrown down this trap, and the books had remained undisturbed, in their dust and neglect, for centuries."

40. What he obtained from St. Mary Deipara, the Duke gave to his friend Mr. TATTAM. His Grace's researches were soon taken up, in a like spirit, by the late Lord ZOUCHE—at the time the Hon. Robert CURZON—whose most charming *Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant* are, happily, too well known to need more than briefest citation here.

41. Lord ZOUCHE's researches were more productive than those of any of his predecessors. He was felicitous

in his endeavours to win the good graces of the monks, and seems often to have made his visits as pleasant to his hosts, as afterwards to his readers. But only one of them needs to be noticed in connection with our present topic—that, namely, to the Convent of the Syrians, mentioned already. "I found," he writes, "several Coptic MSS. lying on the floor, but some were placed in niches in the stone wall. They were all on paper, except three or four. One of them was a superb manuscript of the Gospels, with a Commentary by one of the early Fathers; two others were doing duty as coverings to large pots or jars, which had contained preserves, long since evaporated (?). On the floor I found a fine Coptic and Arabic Dictionary, with which they refused to part." After a most graphic account of a conversation with the Father Abbot—the talk being enlivened with many cups of rosoglio—he proceeds to recount his visit to a small closet, vaulted with stone, which was filled to the depth of two feet or more with loose leaves of Syriac MSS., which now form one of the chief treasures of the British Museum.—The collection thus "preserved" was that of the Coptic monks; the same Monastery contained another, which was that of the Abyssinian monks. "The disposition of the manuscripts in the library," continues the visitor, "was very original. . . . The room was about twenty-six feet long, twenty feet wide, and twelve feet high; the roof was formed of the trunks of palm-trees. A wooden shelf was carried, in the Egyptian style, around the walls, at the height of the top of the door; . . . underneath the shelf various long wooden pegs projected from the wall, . . . on

which hung the Abyssinian MSS., of which this curious library was entirely composed. The books of Abyssinia are bound in the usual way—sometimes in red leather, and sometimes in wooden boards; . . . they are then enclosed in a case, . . . to which is attached a strap, . . . and by these straps the books are hung on the wooden pegs, three or four on a peg, or more, if the books were small; their usual size was that of a small, very thick quarto. . . . Almost all Abyssinian books are written upon skins. . . . They have no cursive writing; each letter is therefore painted, as it were, with a reed pen. . . . Some manuscripts are adorned with the quaintest and grimmest illustrations conceivable, ... and some are worthy of being compared with the best specimens of calligraphy in any language." Then follows an amusing account of the "higgling" of the monks, after a truly Abyssinian fashion, ending in the acquisition of books, of the whole of which the travellers could not, by any packing or stuffing, make their bags containable. "In this dreadful dilemma, . . . seeing that the quarto was the most imperfect," continues Lord ZOUCHE, "I abandoned it; and I have now reason to believe, on seeing the manuscripts of the British Museum, that this was the famous book, with the date of A.D. 411, the most precious acquisition to any Library that has been made in modern times, with the exception, as I conceive, of some in my own Collection. . . . This book, which contains some lost work of Eusebius . . . has fallen into better hands than mine."[1]

1 *Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant*, passim.

42. In the following year (1838), the Rev. Henry TATTAM (afterwards Archdeacon of Bedford), in furtherance of the purpose which had previously enlisted the late Duke of Northumberland's co-operation, set out upon his expedition into Egypt. He arrived in Cairo in October, and in November proceeded up the Nile as far as the Esneh, visiting many Monasteries, and inspecting their Libraries, in most of which he only met with liturgies and service-books. Sanobon was an exception, for there he found eighty-two Coptic MSS., some of them of value and of beauty.[1]

43. In a subsequent and curious conversation with some monks, held under canvas, Mr. TATTAM was told that at one time the Nitrian monasteries numbered no less than three hundred and sixty: of almost the odd sixty (in addition to those subsisting) more or less of ruin is still visible. At St. Mary Deipara, Archdeacon TATTAM was strongly tempted, like his predecessor, Lord ZOUCHE, to covet possession of the treasured Coptic or Arabic Lexicon (*Selim*). His most powerful and moving arguments could procure—in full Chapter—only a transcript. A former Patriarch had written on the fly-leaf a most impressive curse upon robbers, coveting manuscripts. After long years, however, the treasure found its way to Parham.[2] At El Baramous,

1 Miss Platt's charming *Journal of Travel* (unpublished) as abridged in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxvii. pp. 45, *seqq.*

2 The noble library and archives of Parham are conspicuous, in the nine Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., by their absence. There is probably no impropriety in the expression of the writer's belief that had their late noble and most accomplished owner survived, they would have been conspicuous otherwise. Readers of the deeply interesting *Life of Bishop Wilberforce* will not need to be reminded of the touching account given by the lamented Prelate of Lord Zouche's closing days, when the Bishop himself not unconsciously was drawing towards his own.

TATTAM, like his predecessors, found a noble collection of Liturgical MSS. in a condition of deplorable neglect. At Amba-Bischoi the MSS. were measurable—by gauging. Sometimes they lay strewn on the floor, nine inches deep. At Micarius the state of things was not dissimilar; but from thence Mr. TATTAM's persuasions enabled him to carry off about a hundred.

44. The impression made on the good Archdeacon's mind was a lasting one. He returned not long afterwards, to his quest; "and he came back to us," writes Miss PLATT, "followed by Mahommed, and one of the Bedouins, bearing a large sack full of splendid Syriac MSS., on vellum; they were safely deposited in the tent." At Amba-Bischoi a successful bargain was struck for an old *Pentateuch* in Coptic and Arabic, and a beautiful Coptic *Evangeliary*. On the next day, "Mahommed bought from the priests a 'Sorina,' a stupendous volume, beautifully written in the Syriac characters, with a very old worm-eaten copy of the *Pentateuch*, from Amba-Bischoi, exceedingly valuable, but not quite perfect." The remainder of the story, or rather the greater part of what remains, must here be more concisely told than in the words of the original narrator.

45. The manuscripts which Mr. TATTAM had thus obtained, in due time arrived in England. Such of them as were in the Syriac language were disposed of to the Trustees of the British Museum; and the discoveries to which they led will receive some notice in another part of these *Memoirs*. Forty-nine manuscripts of extreme antiquity, containing some valuable

works, long since supposed to have perished, and versions of others written several centuries earlier than any copies of the original texts now known to exist constituted such an addition as has been rarely, if ever, made at one time to any Library. The collection of Syriac MSS. procured by Mr. RICH had already made the Library of the British Museum conspicuous for this class of literature; but the treasure of Manuscripts from Egypt rendered it superior to any in Europe.

46. From the accounts which the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, Lord ZOUCHE, and Mr. TATTAM, had given of their successive visits to the Monastery of the Syrians, it was evident that but few of the manuscripts belonging to it had been removed since the time of ASSEMANI; and probable that no less a number than nearly two hundred volumes must be still remaining in the hands of the monks. Early notices of the Nitrian Libraries show that in one particular year of the tenth century, two hundred and fifty MSS. were brought into one Convent from Mesopotamia. If the recorded spoils made by ASSEMANI, by Lord ZOUCHE, and Archdeacon TATTAM, were added together—the aggregate number of which is *less* than two hundred and fifty—there seemed to be warrant for the conclusion that at St. Mary Deipara, alone, there probably remained at least one hundred and fifty volumes of a date not later than the tenth century. Archdeacon TATTAM was, in the year 1842, commissioned by Her Majesty's Treasury, upon the urgent representation of the Trustees of our National Museum—then, as ever, evincing the utmost and the best-directed zeal in the discharge of their

The resumed researches of Tattam.

important public duties—to resume his researches. He displayed all the vigour, and all the tact, of which he had previously given earnest, under less favourable circumstances. Now, he was backed by Government. It was full time. Had there, at this juncture, been renewed delay, treasures which adorn our grand Museum would, in all probability, once again have aggrandized the National Library of our nearest—and, in *secular* matters—our worthiest neighbours. Mr. TATTAM's present success was not inconsiderable. But the craft of the Monks was—for the time—too much for an Englishman to cope with. The upshot will be seen presently.

47. In 1847 (as I remember,) TISCHENDORFF visited the Monasteries already explored by Lord ZOUCHE and by Archdeacon TATTAM. His account reproduces the old characteristics:—"Manuscripts heaped indiscriminately together, lying on the ground, or thrown into large baskets, beneath masses of dust. . . . The excessive suspicion of these monks rendered it extremely difficult to induce them to produce their MSS., in spite of the extreme penury which surrounds them. . . . But much might yet be found to reward the labour of the searcher." In truth the Monks, poor and simple as they sometimes seemed to be, had taken very sufficient care to keep enough of literary treasures in their hands to reward further researches. Nearly half of their collection seems to have been withheld.

48. A certain Mr. PACHO now entered on the scene, as a negotiator for the obtainment or recovery of the

missing "treasures of the tombs." They had been virtually purchased before, but the Lords of the Treasury very wisely re-opened the public purse, and at length secured for the Nation an inestimable possession. The new accession completed, or went far towards completing, many MSS. which before were tantalizingly imperfect. It supplied a second ancient copy of the famous Ignatian *Epistles* (*to St. Polycarp; to the Ephesians;* and *to the Romans*); many fragments of palimpsest manuscripts of great antiquity, and among them the greater part of St. Luke's *Gospel* in Greek; and about four thousand lines of the *Iliad*, written in a fine square uncial letter, apparently not later than the sixth century. The total number of volumes thus added to the previous collections from the Monasteries of the Nitrian Desert, preserved in our great National Library, are reckoned to amount to nearly a hundred and fifty.

"The History of almost every Monastic Community—that lived long enough to outgrow its cradle—alternates between a period of lax discipline, and a period of vigorous Reformation. . . . . [Not a few of the Orders which began their respective careers in the fervid piety of a devout and real asceticism, came ere very long to resemble, too much, those dwellers]

> . . . . 'In the Island valley of Avilion,
> Where fell nor hail, nor rain, nor any snow,
> Nor ever wind blew loudly; but it lay
> Deep-meadowed, happy, fair, with orchard lawns
> And bowery hollows, crowned with summer sea.'

[And, in such cases, a stern curbing-hand, in the Head of the Community, for the time being, comes to be as much needed,—in the days so to speak of Manhood,[1]—as a liberal and gentle nursing-hand was needed, in the days of Infancy.]—"*The Isle of Wight County Press*" (Story of Hyde Abbey), 20th June, 1885.

1 "I have something against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen; and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and I will remove thy candlestick, *except thou repent.*"—REV. ii. 4, 5.

CHAPTER V.

St. Columb-Kill, and the Dawn of Literature in the Monastic Libraries of Ireland and of Scotland; with some passing glances at the Libraries of later Irish Communities—at Home and Abroad,—in which relics of the Early Libraries of "the Holy-Island" are yet preserved.

The few examples of Writing of the sixth to the ninth centuries, inclusive, which the Benedictines of St. Maur give [in the *Traité de Diplomatique*] from originals in the Monastic Libraries of Corvey, Würtzburgh, St. Emmeram, Tegernsee, and Salzburgh,—in addition to their many examples from the Libraries of French Monasteries,—were, in the main, not written in those German Monasteries themselves, but had been brought thither from England, [and from Ireland,] and from France, either by the primitive missionaries of Christianity, or by its early diffusers and promoters.—Jaeck: *Die Bambergische Bibliothek*, 2r. Th., p. 49.

A life of honour and of worth
Has no eternity on earth,—
'Tis but a name;—
And yet its glory far exceeds
That base and sensual life, which leads
To want and shame.

The Eternal Life, beyond the sky,
Wealth cannot purchase, nor the high,
The proud Estate:
The soul in dalliance laid,—the spirit
Corrupt with sin,—shall not inherit
A joy so great.
But the good Monk, in cloistered cell,
Shall gain it, by his book and bell,
His prayers and tears; . . . .
* * * *
Cheered onward by Christ's promise sure;—
Strong in the Faith, entire and pure,
He doth profess,— . . . . .
That better Life, on high,
He shall possess.
—Manrique: *Coplas;* translated by Longfellow.[1]

49. History, even when put through the sieve of the most searching and most distrustful criticism, still

1 The words in the closing stanzas slightly altered.

preserves many an episode which partakes largely of the weird elements of Romance. But in none of the many realms of History can this undoubted truth be brought, I venture to think, more strongly before the mind of an attentive reader, than when he is studying, with the appliances of recent inquiry, and of recent archæological discovery, the early Religious History of Ireland. The more strongly such a reader is impressed with the gloom and despondency so naturally inspired by secular annals in an almost endless series of self-repeating cycles of oppression,—of rapacious spoil,—of rebellion,—of civil war,—of foreign invasion,—and of cold-blooded massacres,—the more romantic must appear that shifting and lighting up of the scene which presents itself, when he turns from the later story of the "Commonwoe[1] of Ireland"—during more than the last eight centuries—to the bright dawn of Christianity, of Literature, and of Civilization in Ireland, thirteen centuries ago, and to its radiation, thence, in a measure, to the then dark Britain. Make the largest allowances for the legendary element in the annals of COLUMB-KILL, and of his comrades in Christian arms and Christian arts, that the sceptical and hollow criticism, even of our own age, can venture to claim, and the residue is one of the noblest chapters which our national—our united—History can shew for the honour of those mighty dead, who, during their day and generation, wrought in humble dependence on other strength than their own; and for the comfort, in all time to come, of every true-

1 The phrase is Ralegh's. It occurs in a letter to Lord Leicester, of August, 1581 (MS. Harl. 6993).

hearted toiler who, in like dependence, shall, in his lowly station and degree, strive, howsoever imperfectly, to follow in their train.

50. And, surely, the least emotional of men, if he be a student at all, must feel something more and something higher, than a mere momentary glow of the imagination, if it be his privilege to be permitted, in the Museum of the Irish Academy at Dublin, to look at the "*Cathach*" *Psalter* of the sixth century, or, when visiting the Library of Trinity College, to look at those Latin Gospels known as the "*Book of Kells*," of the same date. If he is able to bring at all before his mind the wonderful series of casualties, of perils by flood and field, of strangely adventurous changes of guardianship and of abode, which those precious relics must have gone through, during thirteen hundred such years as Ireland has seen, since their bright pages were written and illumined, it is surely a glow of the heart, not of the fancy, which the sight of them will excite. Such a visitor to Dublin will, perhaps, be inclined to ask whether the most admiring biographer of St. COLUMB-KILL,—or of St. PATRICK,—ever ascribed to either of those Saints a miracle more really wonderful, to a Christian mind, than the preservation, to this day, of that sacred *Psalter* which was borne before the O'DONNEL, on many a field in Ireland, during successive ages; which was covered by the shield of the O'DONNEL, on the bloody day of the Boyne; and then, as if itself a shield, borne by him on his heart, through many a campaign in Flanders, and in Italy? Will there be more of "superstition" in ascribing its safety to chance,

or in ascribing it directly to Divine Providence, for some distinct purpose, by us unseen?

Contrasts in the Early History of the Benedictines and the followers of Columb-Kill.

51. The glorious annals of our English Benedictines begin—on this secular side—with agriculture; with horticulture; with vine-dressing. We owe, indeed, our first Library on record—that of St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury—to the devoted and heroic Missionaries of St. GREGORY the Great; but that collection was, in the main, a Library of Choir-books. We descend some ages, before we reach a distinctly and strongly-marked activity of the Benedictine writing-room in England. It is the special and crowning honour of the early Monks of Ireland that it is *there* that with them, activity of labour begins. Surpassed by none in depth and fervour of devotion, in the true spirit of the Christian missionary, they are pre-eminently (in their more secular aspect), Educationists, and literary monks. As it is to Irish genius that we owe some of our best oratory; some of our greatest political classics; some of our best songs and (in all paths, except the supreme one,) some of our best English dramatic works; as the bright Scenery and the Strange Story of Ireland have stamped themselves on much of our standard English prose, and on at least one of our noblest English Epics;—so it is that to Irish literary industry, in the earliest ages, we must, in all human probability, have owed in several districts of Great Britain—though we cannot now distinctly trace the channels or the agencies—the earliest English and the earliest Scottish, acquaintance with Holy Scripture.

52. The romantic story of St. COLUMB-KILL begins as a transcriber of portions of the *Holy Bible;* his rapid and sudden wanderings, exiles, and journeys to and fro, connect themselves with sacred books, at each conspicuous stage. The relics, which to this day keep his memory green, for Englishmen as well as for Irishmen, are *Poems, Ballads, and Gospels.* He is a Poet, as well as a Bibliographer, and an Apostle.[1] He preached a short sermon, in the sixth century, on the right treatment and right diffusion of books, which some Churchmen, and some College Librarians, of the nineteenth century would not be the worse if they were to learn by heart, and to follow in practice. And he has left a deep mark on Irish history as a Statesman. Educated in a monastic school at Clonard,[2] we find traces of him, before he had quite reached the age of twenty-five, at Durrow, and at Derry, the first two, and apparently the best-loved, of thirty-seven Monasteries, which claim him as their Founder, before his exile.

Literary Activities of Columb-Kill.

The praises of Derry he was never weary of singing. It rose amidst the glories of the virgin forest; and

1 See the early chapters of the *History of Ireland*, by Moore; in the *Cabinét Cyclopædia* of Lardner.

2 Clonard was founded not very long before the days of Columb-Kill. Irish Chroniclers have said that under its founder, St. Finnian—Columb-Kill's master—it attained to be a community of 3,000 monks. But all before Columb-Kill is strongly coloured by legend. Montalembert has observed truly and incisively that those worthy and primary chroniclers of Erin know, in their Arithmetic, two numbers—three hundred, and three thousand; nothing intermediate occurs to them. Within the needful limits of this chapter, I can but translate and epitomise, in brief, halting, and meagre, fashion, what Montalembert has told in noble French. In borrowing from the *Moines d' Occident*, I borrow from the beloved companion—through his books—of almost fifty years of my life.

forest-scenery had for COLUMB-KILL an unwearying charm to his latest day of life. It is a favourite subject of his poems,[1] which, thanks to recent labours of Irish antiquaries, an Englishman may now read and enjoy—as, thanks to those of the ever-to-be-honoured MONTALEMBERT, it is due that every reader of French also, may if he please,—in that noble tongue, so familiar to all of us.

53. All the annalists of St. COLUMB-KILL celebrate his passion for books, and his delight in the labours of transcription. The man who from childhood was marked by a dominant love for travel, and above all for woodland rambles; who responded, in verse, to the charms of Nature, as freely as the Æolian harp responded, in music, to the gentle breeze of Spring, could toil terribly in his cell. We may safely diminish something arithmetically from those "three hundred copies" of the *Gospel*, and of the *Psalms*, said to have been the product of his single hand; but nothing in his biography is better avouched than his laborious and far-spread researches for books to copy. It is, on all hands, a salient characteristic of the man, as every contemporary, every adversary, knew him to be. In

1 Father Colgan possessed many pieces of Irish poetry by St. Columb-Kill, and gave specimens of them, 230 years ago. "Diversa poemata St. Columbæ," writes Colgan, "patrio idiomate scripta, exstant penes me." Part of his MSS. passed from the Franciscan Library at Louvain to the Burgundian Library at Brussels, and from those MSS. some of the Irish pieces of St. Columb-Kill have been recently published, with an English translation by Dr. Reeves. The largest known collection of Irish poems is in the Bodleian. Other poems in Latin, occur, I believe, in several libraries. The Irish Historical MSS. formerly at Stowe and lately at Ashburnham were collected by Mr. O'Conor of Belaganare, and are briefly described in another part of these *Memoirs*. They now belong to the British Nation, and are rightly to be preserved in the National Library of Ireland, at Dublin.

that quest, on one early occasion, he journeyed into far Ossory, where "white-legged LONGARAD," a recluse who had made himself famous for his collection of books, had long lived and studied. COLUMB-KILL begged hard for a sight of the treasures, but the applicant was already as noted for copying, as LONGARAD was for collecting. He was refused; and the refusal was unchangeable. COLUMB-KILL lost his temper, and his self-command. His pious biographers do not conceal that he uttered, in his anger, words and threats, which he needs must afterwards have sorrowed for.

The quarrel of the old Master and the young Disciple;—Literary "Copyright," in the sixth century.

54. It is to a very similar incident that the change in his career may be traced to which it is (humanly speaking), due that the fame and the civilizing labours which might otherwise have been kept within a narrow neighbourhood, spread, eventually, over many lands. His old master, Abbot FINNIAN, of Clonard, possessed a fine *Psalter* which COLUMB-KILL was anxious to copy. FINNIAN had, according to the Chroniclers, many excellent qualities, but they did not prevent him from feeling that jealousy so characteristic of the ordinary collector of rarities which esteems a treasure to be lessened, not increased, by participation, and of which we have seen the good Bishop of Aleria complaining, so sensitively, in respect of some of the much-panegyrized Revivalists, almost a thousand years later. Our book-loving Monk knew his master's weakness; and he seems to have thought his own aims, in transcription, so good, as to justify him in copying clandestinely, under cover of night. But a gleam of light, seen at unwonted hours, through a church window, betrayed the furtive scribe.

FINNIAN kept silence, till the copy was completed, and then claimed it, as his own. The father-book said he, in expressive vernacular, is mine; the son-book must follow that proverbial principle of law, which makes the owner of a cow, owner also of its calf.[1] The pupil was as sturdy, in refusal, as the master, in demand. The question was referred to King DERMOTT, and was solemnly argued "in Tara's halls." The maxim of the popular proverb was affirmed by the King. But the pertinacious transcriber refused to yield, what he had contrived to put in safety. The "*Cathach*,"[2] as it seems, took its name from the successful war which followed upon the resistance of COLUMB-KILL to the decree of DERMOTT, and the espousal of his quarrel by warlike disciples. And the remorse of COLUMB-KILL, at having created a civil war, seems to have led to a vital change in character and heart. Hitherto, his aims and his desires had centred chiefly round the love of Nature, and the love of Books. The ritual and routine duties, and the Charities of the Monk had not been neglected, but they had lacked (as it appears), that "Faith, entire and pure," without which the service of book and bell;—even the service of prayers and tears;—is still but as the cleansing of the outside of the platter. No change, upon earth, could destroy, in this man, the love of books, the love of Nature, or the love of his fellow men. Those who had espoused his just cause had conquered, but they had won by blood-shed. Sorrow at that cry of blood, made the former pursuits secondary pursuits. The primary

1 "*Le gach boin a boinin, le gach leabhar a leabhran.*"

2 Leabhar Cathach, *i. e.*, The book of battle.

and ruling love was thenceforth the love of Souls, and the love of Monastic and Missionary Duty. But, to the rude warriors, the "*Cathach*" had won a fame which it kept during long ages. To carry it through camp and clan, on the eve of battle, was, to the thought of the O'Donnels, a sure omen of victory.

The "Cathach" or Psalter of the O'Donnels.

55. This famous *Psalter* is of the Vulgate version, and is written on fifty-eight leaves of vellum, in a hand confessedly (on closest scrutiny), of the sixth century. It has been for some eight hundred years enclosed in a chased casket, partly of silver, partly of brass; and the casket bears this inscription:

> "*Pray for Cathbar O'Donnel, for whom this casket was made; for Sitric, son of Mac-Aedha, who made it; and for Donal Macrobarhaigh, Successor of Kells* [*i. e. Successor of the Abbot, St. Columb-Kill*], *in whose House it was made.*"

Transmission of the "Cathach;" and its present abode.

From Cathbar, it was handed down through successive generations of Chieftains till it came to the exiled O'Donnel of the beginning of the eighteenth century, who had kept his faith in it, notwithstanding the defeat he had himself shared in at the Boyne; and who, during his banishment, carried it (as I have said), in many a foreign campaign. Daniel O'Donnel died at St. Germain, in 1735, directing, by his Will, that the *Psalter* should be delivered to the next Head of the Clan, "when claimed." But presently it was taken from France into Belgium, and, for a time, deposited in a monastery there. Eventually, the late Sir Neil O'Donnel of Newport (County Mayo) claimed and received it. By him

it was lent to the antiquary, Sir William BETHAM, who had afterwards to answer a Bill, filed against him in the Chancery of Ireland, for opening the casket, to read the MS. From Sir Neil it came to the present Sir Richard O'DONNEL, who has liberally deposited it, both for safety and for view, under proper conditions, with the Curators of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin.[1]

56. The fame of St. COLUMB-KILL is linked as closely with Iona as with Derry, and with many another spot in Ireland and in Scotland, whence a stately Abbey, or some humble cell, rayed forth civilising studies, elevating books, holy teachings, soul-cheering sacraments, to thousands of Christian converts and worshippers. At Iona, as at Derry, at Monasterboyce, or at Kells, the "proud philosopher" may still very usefully call to mind that

The Exile, and the Holy Isle.

> "Fallen though she be, this 'Glory of the West,'
> Still on her sons the beams of Mercy shine;
> And hopes, perhaps, more heavenly bright than thine;
> A Grace, by thee unsought, and unpossess'd,
> A Faith more fixed, a rapture more divine,
> Shall gild their passage to Eternal Rest."

57. How nobly Iona, in its turn, sent the blessings of Christian civilisation far and wide is among the familiar facts of British History. COLUMB-KILL had to strive hard for its safe and secure possession and protection, against many dangerous neighbours. It is

1 GILBERT: *Report on MSS. of Sir R. O'Donnel*; *printed in the Fourth Rep. of Hist. MSS. Com.*; App. pp. 584-588 (1875). MONTALEMBERT: *Les Moines d' Occid.*, iii., 107., *seqq.*

on record that during a journey, on this errand, to a powerful Pictish chieftain established in a rock-bound fortress very near to the site of present Inverness, he was believed to be the first man who steered a skiff upon its lake. That interview with BRINDH had good results. It was long remembered, by many a rude warrior, and by many an angry Druid, that the Pagan King's face stirred with emotion when after his formal audience,—COLUMB-KILL and his attendant monks left the port (followed by King, courtiers, and Druids, in a crowd), and grouping themselves on a rock for vespers, amidst threats of the idolatrous priests, began with the lofty chant; "*My heart is inditing a good matter; I will speak of the things . . . touching the King.*"

58. According to the National tradition, it was by COLUMB-KILL that AIDAN was anointed monarch of Scotland at Iona, on that famous stone of destiny, which after having been successively removed to Dunstafnage and to Scone, is now part of the Coronation-throne of our sovereigns in Westminster Abbey. Not long afterwards, he exerted dominant influence on a great National Assembly in Ireland; and amongst other achievements which shaped future history, saved from ruin, both there and in Britain, the great band of the Bards, who had fallen into royal disfavour. This Assembly was held at Drumkeith (*Drum-Ceitt*, "Whale-back,") and there the counsels of COLUMB-KILL affected, for some ages, the relations between Ireland and Scotland. He gave powerful encouragement to geographical explorations; often accompanying the adventurous navigators in person. Many a voyage was

Columb-Kill at the Synod of Drumkeith.

so made to the Hebrides, and many a germ of civilising influences then first planted.[1] In the intervals of journeys, the labours in the Scriptorium were frequently resumed at Iona. He was still busied with a fresh transcript of the loved *Psalter*, when called to his rest. Death came to him, suddenly, at Iona, on the ninth of June, 597; (within very few months after the Mission into Kent of St. AUGUSTINE). In his last transcript, COLUMB-KILL had reached the words . . . "*They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing.*" (*Psal. xxxiv.*, 10,) —"Here" (feeling the stroke of mortal sickness,) said he, "I must stop. BAITHEN shall write the rest." BAITHEN was then a sort of Prior at Iona, and he succeeded to the Abbacy.

The last days and last transcriptions of St. Columb-Kill.

59. The keen interest taken by St. COLUMB-KILL in public affairs,—in the later years,—must needs have slackened in degree the eager toil of transcription. In another characteristic, it was noticed that there was no change whatever. The passionate love of trees was as strong in the old man, as it had been in the youth.

1 Some of my readers will be perhaps, reminded, of striking parallelisms in a glorious prelatial career which closed only the other day. One clause only excepted,—as will be seen in the text presently,—it was true alike of Abbot Columb-Kill, in the sixth century, and of Bishop Selwyn, in the nine teenth century, that—

"The hand that held the pastoral staff,—
That traced the Cross on infant's brow,—
Had hewed the oak, had furled the sail,
Had reaped the corn, had held the plough.

"The voice that soothed with tender words
The mourner, and the little child,
In stern brief accents of command
Was heard above the tempest wild."

"His life was work." . . . . . .

They rose in great plenty around most of his abodes; and around most of the Monasteries which he founded; but he was famed as the planter of many more far away. So remote was he from seeking exercise—howsoever healthful—in the hewing of trees, that those nearest him noted that he would suffer serious domestic inconvenience, rather than permit a monarch of the forest to be by any hand cut down, without imperative necessity.[1] The glorious charms of the wide-spreading and far-shadowing oak are well sung in several of his poems, yet extant.

60. The number of Monasteries in Scotland, and the Isles, of which the foundation has sometimes been

1 Some readers also may here be tempted, in reading of Columb-Kill's passion for, and reverend care of, "The brave old oaks," which so adorn our beloved country to glance, in thought, at the remarkably well-developed taste for, and enjoyment of, their *destruction*, which so commonly marks the character of a man, of our own day, who is almost as widely-famed now as Columb-Kill was in his remote age. The following incident is narrated in the exact words which appear in a conspicuous London newspaper whilst these sheets are in the press:—

"Because of any consistency there is in the act, the [late, D.G.] Prime Minis-"ter of England might with as much propriety entertain a crowd gathered in "any London thoroughfare, by performing with white mice, as to amuse a "similar audience by performing the part of a woodman in Flintshire. The "picture is, without doubt, strange, that of Mr. Gladstone amusing the "curious crowd we read of, who on Wednesday watched 'The Grand Old "'Man,' [!] *divest himself of coat, waistcoat, collar, and braces, and then "proceed to fell an oak*, the diameter of the stem being four feet. We won-"der if Mr. Gladstone, or his musical son, or the crowd, or all of them in "chorus, sang the good old song "*Here's to the Oak, the brave old Oak*," ere "the controller [the late controller, D.G.] of the destinies of England swung "the axe. There would be evidently some analogy between the song and the "act; and after the felling of the tree, the chips, so eagerly carried away, "might be well regarded as trophies of the destruction wrought; not without "significance, as associated with the man who has done so much already, and "whose persistent determination is yet directed so vigorously, to destroy the "very vitality of the country he assumes to serve—that he may distribute "the *chips* to the members of the Continental Cabinets, who would receive "them as evidences of Mr. Gladstone's *energetic* folly."

ascribed to St. COLUMB-KILL is large,—and legendary. But there is nothing in the account, legendary as it is, so marvellous as is the well-authenticated fact that more than one hundred Monasteries scattered over Scotland, England, France, Lorraine, Alsace, Bavaria, and other parts of Germany (Southern and Northern), Switzerland, and Italy, can be directly and historically affiliated to the disciples, successors, and followers, of St. COLUMB-KILL.[1] Many, very many, of these came, as time rolled on, to be famous for their rich Libraries. The "Irishman abroad" has made himself illustrious on many a well-fought field; has planted (as we all know,) in many a foreign country, a family teeming with soldiers, writers, governing-statesmen.[2] But it would task both historian and arithmetician to reckon up the numbers of the faithful Christian Civilizers whom Ireland sent forth in early days, over the length and breadth of Europe. The fields watered, and made fruitful, with Irish blood are far from being, all of them, fields of ordinary warfare.[3]

61. Two literary relics of St. COLUMB-KILL, second only in enduring interest, to the *Psalter* of the Cathach; are preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The first of them is a copy of the Latin *Gospels*, after the Vulgate, written in Irish characters. It is known as the "*Book of Durrow*," being said, traditionally, to have been there written by COLUMB-KILL. It is extensively illuminated with initial letters, and with decorative

1 Cf. MONTALEMBERT: *Moines d'Occident*, iii., 312, *seqq.*

2 See for example, *The Statesman's Year-Book*, of 1883.

borders, and other ornaments, tesselated, interlaced, spiral, and circular. The second is also a Copy of the *Gospels*, in a hand which is by Irish antiquaries confidently ascribed to the sixth century. This volume is said to have belonged to COLUMB-KILL, but is of somewhat different scription from the above-mentioned volume. It is known as the "*Book of Kells*." Its illuminations are of much richer character than those of the Durrow volume. Mr. WESTWOOD speaks of it as "unquestionably the most elaborately executed manuscript of a date so early," now known to exist.[1] We do not know whether COLUMB-KILL himself possessed the illuminator's art as well as that of the Poet and of the ready writer. But it is a pleasure to think that possibly he too may have been able—

"To embalm the sacred Name
With all a Painter's art, and all a Minstrel's flame."

62. Trinity College also possesses a Latin *New Testament*, written in Irish characters by monks who were bred in the school of COLUMB-KILL's successors at Howth. This volume is called "*The Garland of Howth*."

63. The Franciscan College, now of Dublin, formerly of Louvain, is also in possession of fragments of a Latin *Psalter*, in Irish characters, of the seventh century. The scription is ascribed to St. CAMIN, an immediate follower of COLUMB-KILL. Its Library contains two fragments of a precious MARTYROLOGY, known as the

1 WESTWOOD: *Paleographia Sacra.* A fac-simile is there given; GILBERT: *Report on MSS. of Trin. Coll., Dublin;* App. to *Fourth Report of Commrs. on Histor. MSS.* (1875) 588 *seqq.*

"*Book of Leinster*." Here, too, also, is a diglott "*Liber Hymnorum*," in Latin and in Old Irish. All of these are on vellum.

64. The History of this Louvain community is otherwise of interest. It had to pass through many afflictions; to suffer many losses and forced changes of abode. It is but two hundred and seventy years old, but it is already honoured by the memories of several generations of faithful men, who worked zealously for the History and Antiquities of their Fatherland, as well as in the special duties of their Order, according to the measure of the light vouchsafed to them.

65. This Franciscan community had been founded at Louvain, under the designation, "*College of St. Anthony of Padua*," in 1607, by the titular Archbishop of Tuam, Father Florence Conroy. It early became a centre of the study and diffusion of Irish History. Here Patrick Fleming, Stephen White, Michael O'Clery, and John Colgan—with many others—long laboured, in the intervals of literary journeys, which they were permitted and encouraged to undertake in search of Irish records and chronicles. In that quest White searched many of the monastic and other libraries of Germany; Fleming, many of those in Italy, and in Bohemia. He was at Prague during the siege, and was there killed. Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ* was mainly produced at Louvain. Eventually the College was united—as it seems—with that of St. Isidoro at Rome, to be again transferred, in recent days, to Dublin. Part of its considerable collection of Irish Historical MSS., originals and transcripts, went ultimately to enrich the Bur-

gundian Library at Brussels. Another portion came with the College, to Dublin. The gatherings and the labours of O'CLERY; of COLGAN, and of his continuators, are amongst the series preserved in Dublin. They include (1,) a *History of the Irish Franciscans*, written in 1617; (2,) a copy of the initiatory portion (viz., to A.D. 1169)[1] of what subsequently became the *Annals of the Four Masters*; a fragment, probably, of the thirteenth century; (3,) the original text of KEATING'S *History of Ireland* (1636); and (4,) an anonymous *Life of St. Columb-Kill*, written in 1522.[2]

1 This precious MS. is in the *autograph* of the original compiler. Michel O'Clery was the senior of those "Four Masters," whose joint labours may be said to have given a "new departure" to Irish History.

2 GILBERT: "*MSS. of the Franciscans of Dublin*," in Appendix to *Fourth Report on Historical MSS. Commission*, 519-613. Mr. Gilbert prints, in his report, some extracts on Irish Affairs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which are not only curious but deeply interesting.

"The Monastery of Clugny . . . . . was destined to exercise an enormous influence on the Future of the Church. While matters at Rome were at their worst, there were silently in training [at Clugny], the men who should inaugurate a new state of things. Already . . . . [as it was said at the time] 'the whole House of 'the Church was filled with the sweet savour of the ointment *there* 'poured out: wherever, in any Religious House, there were . . . 'aspirations after a higher life, . . . that House *affiliated* itself to 'Clugny:' thus beginning to constitute a 'Congregation,' . . . . scattered, it might be, over all Christendom, but owning one Rule; acknowledging the superiority of one Mother-House, and receiving thence its Abbots, or its Priors. In the Clugnian Congregation, for example, there were about two thousand Houses, in the twelfth century; the Arch-Abbot . . . . being, ... for a long time, the Pope excepted, quite the most influential Church-Ruler in Christendom. The glory of Monte Cassino . . . . . was eclipsed by the greater glory of Clugny."

—Archbishop TRENCH'S *Lectures on Mediæval Church-History*, pp. 106, 107.

CHAPTER VI.

A Representative Benedictine Library of the Tenth Century.—Literary Aspect of Monachism, as seen at Cluny (in Burgundy), A.D. 909-1580.—Huguenots and Books.—The Dispersion of the Cluny Treasures; and some Recent Discoveries concerning them, 1580-1880.

> They used Books so
> That they might teach to live, as well as know.
> 'Twas not the language, only, they would see.
> * * * *
> T' adore mere garb of speech had been to have staid
> To lose the Sun, whilst they admir'd the Shade.
> Their aim was nobler far: they knew there sprung
> More worth in Roman virtue, than in Latin tongue.
> —Martin Llewellyn.

66. A.D. 909. The ever-memorable Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter's of Cluny (near to Macon) in Burgundy, was the joint undertaking of Gerard, Count of Aurillac, and of William, Count of Auvergne. The former laid its foundation. Both contributed to its first endowment. It dates from the year 909. Berno, who in that year was Abbot of the Monastery of Gigni, in the northern part of the Diocese of Lyons, became first Abbot of Cluny. The new community very soon became famous, alike for the devout zeal of its Monks, for the activity with which they carried on the labours of the Scriptorium, for the steady growth of its Library, and for the civilizing and ennobling influences which, in various channels, it helped to diffuse over a wide extent of country. Odo, second Abbot (from 927), whose fame

has eclipsed that of his predecessor, and whom some annalists speak of as if he had been the founder, accompanied BERNO in his journey from the Lyonese. He had served the Canons of St. Martin's Cathedral at Tours as their Precentor, and as the master of their School. He had learned to be an ardent book-lover at the paternal hearth. "My father," he once told a brother-monk of Cluny, who survived him, and became his biographer, "was a different sort of person from most men of the present day. He had by heart the historical works of the ancient writers, and the *Novellæ* of JUSTINIAN. And, at his table, the GOSPELS were always read." ODO early imbibed the love of reading, under such example. But, for a time, the charms of the classic poets won his heart. They did not retain it. The sublimities of Holy Prophets of a day more ancient still, and the solemn verities of the Christian Evangelists, and of those Fathers of the Church who expounded and enforced them, soon engrossed the affections of one who, being come to manhood, put away what, in comparison, and in the retrospect, seemed to be but as childish things. Long before he accompanied his friend BERNO on the first journey to Cluny, he had, it is recorded, gathered a hundred volumes as his private library. And ODO possessed what, for the immediate purpose of his proper work in the infant community of Cluny, was even more important than was the love of books,—the love, namely, of what is best in men, and the faculty of so ruling them as to bring it out. But his bookishness gave the ply to the Cluniac brotherhood. He lived to govern it, himself, only fifteen years after his election.

MAIOLUS (afterwards canonized, and known to studious travellers in some parts of France as the patron-saint of several churches of note), who eventually became fourth Abbot, grew up under ODO's eye. He even outvied his instructor in the way of book-collecting. He made many journeys into Italy, to buy fine copies of the Holy Scriptures, and of the Fathers; incurred much peril, we are told, from "Saracens, and other robbers," on the highways, and was occasionally stripped of the books which it had cost him such pains to gather,—sometimes, however, recovering them in a romantic way; and not infrequently incurring another kind of peril, to life or limb, by the inveterate habit he had acquired of "beguiling the lonesome hour" by reading whilst in the saddle. Sometimes the book suffered, whilst the reader had a narrow escape.[1] One of the many choice volumes given by MAIOLUS to his community now adorns the National Library of France. It is a beautiful copy of St. AMBROSE's Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke.[2]

67. Abbot ODILO imitated his predecessor, in a widespread research after fine books, and in carrying them about him, whilst journeying. HUGH I., his immediate successor (the two governed the community for the extraordinary term, jointly, of 113 years), kept the Scriptorium very actively employed, and established such a system of diligent reading of the Scriptures in public, and also of the best Commentaries upon them,

1 MABILLON: *Acta Sanctorum Ord. S. Bened.*, vii. 771-780.

2 "Fonds de Cluni, 29;" DELISLE: *Inventaire des MSS.*, &c. (1884), 44, 45, and pref. vi. "*Liber oblatus ad altare S. Petri Cluniensis cœnobii ex voto D. . . . .* Maioli *abbatis.*"

—especially during the long evenings of autumn and winter, as must needs have made the Monks of Cluny eminent "textualists," in the best sense of the word.[1] It is one, only, of innumerable testimonies to the untruthfulness of some very current opinions concerning monastic neglect of the Holy Bible. The vividness and pungency of that instructive conversation, held in the eleventh century, in the refectory of an Abbey of the Black Forest, makes its witness better than that (cogent as that, also, is) of a multitude of the Catalogues of Monastic Libraries.

68. If (for brevity's sake) we pass over a century and a half, we reach the rule of Abbot IVES I., and find him recorded as the donor of fifty volumes to the Library of Cluny. Of these, ten are biblical. Nearly at the same date we have a librarian's register of books lent. It enumerates 128 volumes, of which twenty-two are biblical.[2]

69. In the next century we have an account of a special abbatial library, formed by Abbot Androuin DE LA ROCHE (afterwards Cardinal), which includes several famous books; and another record of a large donation to the Abbey Library by Abbot Jean DE COSANT[3] (1383-1400). When Printing dawned, it was quickly and largely encouraged by the munificent Abbot Jean DE BOURBON. He established a printer in the Abbey itself, —Michael WENSLER; and appears to have given to the

1 See Dr. Maitland's translation of Monk Ulrich's discourse (at Hirschau), "*Quomodo Testamentum legatur utrumque*," in "*The Dark Ages*," 336-338.

2 DELISLE, *ut sup.*: App., 375-377 (sub anno 1252).

3 *Chronique des Abbés de Cluni* (MS. du fonds Lat. 942, f. 102); and DELISLE, vi.

library, at various times, about twenty-five printed volumes, in addition to nearly eighty manuscript volumes. Twelve of the latter are biblical; seven are Latin classics. His successor, Jacques D'AMBOISE, continued his patronage of printers, and caused some beautiful liturgical books to be executed at Cluny.[1]

Cluny a "Lending Library" in XIIIth Century.

70. M. DELISLE has adduced evidence for his belief that the Monks of Cluny, as early as in the thirteenth century, made their library a lending collection, and sent books, upon due occasion, "to all parts of France," and into Switzerland. The great library of Paris possesses the original receipt by which the Council of Basel acknowledge the loan to them, for the purposes of their assembly, of certain tracts of St. AUGUSTINE, and at the same time desire the transmission of several works of other Fathers of the Church.[2] But such loans were often prejudicial to Libraries. The good Fathers were much more ready to borrow books, than careful to return them.

71. The Community were not always themselves as duly careful, as they were duly liberal, in dealing with their books. A volume of the *Letters of St. Augustine* was once left in an outhouse of the Abbey, and had the singular fate of being "devoured," or partly devoured, "by a bear." The Monks had to confess their carelessness when, having need to refer to a copy, they sought its loan from the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse. The story is told in a letter of PETER the Venerable.[3]

1 DELISLE: vii. One of the Cluny books is exhibited to visitors in the Mazarine Gallery of the National Library.

2 D'ACHERY: *Spicilegium*, 761, 762;—MS. Lat. du Bib. Nat., 11833, § 39.

3 *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 653.

72. After the long continuance of great zeal and great prosperity—more than usually prolonged at Cluny—came, at length, the time of supineness and of decadence—

> "When Churchmen's lives gave laymen leave to fall,
> And did their former humbleness disdain;—
> When shirt of hair turn'd coat of costly pall."

The punishment came, by the hands of brutal men, who, in Burgundy, just like their congeners—Thomas CROMWELL and the rest—in England, themselves made "reformation of religion" the cloak of covetousness. We may see, from his words, that BEZA blushed for his fellow-Huguenots, when he wrote (although not quite accurately as to the details of their Vandalism): . . . .

> " Having taken Cluny without resistance, ... its Library, in which there was still a great mass of ancient MSS., was totally destroyed. The books were in part torn up; in part, carried off in fragments. And thus that treasure was lost by the insolence, and ignorance, of soldiers who cried out that the books 'were all mass-books.'"[1]

Happily the Archives of this great community were, in the main, saved. The Count DE CHIZY has recently narrated the manner in which they escaped the partial destruction of the Library, in a tract printed (1870) at Dijon.[2] Happily, also, BEZA's account is an exaggeration of the fate, disastrous as it was, which befel the books. They were, in truth, very far from being totally destroyed. Although it was

1 *Histoire . . des Eglises Reformés*, (1580), 421.

2 *Note historique concernant la sauvetage du "Trèsor des Chartes de Cluny,"* passim.

mainly from the Archives that André Duchesne drew the materials of his *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis* (1614), he derived some of them from remnants of the Library. Almost forty years after his researches, came those of the learned Benedictine, Anselme Le Michel, who spent more than five years in a literary tour throughout the Monasteries of France, of his Order, and took Cluny, in its turn, in the summer of 1644. Le Michel made his laborious journies on foot, carrying with him his voluminous papers. He found many surviving MSS. of the Library, and appears to have made many transcripts from the archives. His labours detained him at Cluny a long time, and whilst so employed he was overtaken by illness. When able to depart, he left in the Abbey much that he had written there, and also many papers gathered from other monasteries, believing, he says, that they would be sent after him, in consideration of his ill health. But delays intervened, and it was not until the spring of 1645 that his papers were entrusted to another Benedictine, his agent, for delivery. This monk was arrested, whilst passing through Charolles, at the instance of the Benedictines there, and the papers were claimed as being the property of the Abbey of Cluny. Le Michel appealed to the Prince of Conti, then Abbot of Cluny, and Superior of the Clugniac Monasteries generally. But the issue of the matter is unknown.[1] It would seem probable, however, that some of the MSS. claimed by Le Michel remained at Cluny in after-times.

1 M. Delisle has printed the list of Le Michel's MSS., and also, in full, his Memoir addressed to the Prince of Conti;—*Inventaire, &c.*, 394-397 (1884).

73. Etienne BALUZE, in his turn, made three several visits to Cluny—in 1699, in 1701, and again in 1703, —working assiduously amongst its charters and other MSS., and making an enormous number of transcripts. It seems, too, that by the influence of the Cardinal of Bouillon he obtained authority to retain a few originals. It is certain that amongst the vast collections—nearly 1000 volumes of MSS., 700 charters, and a large assemblage, filling seven presses, of unbound transcripts and miscellaneous papers[1]—purchased for the Royal Library in 1719, several original charters, which originally belonged to Cluny, are now extant.

74. In 1710, the Benedictines, Edmond MARTENE, and Ursin DURAND, followed the example of their predecessor, LE MICHEL, and worked amongst the MSS. of Cluny for seventeen days. "Everything," they say, "was opened to us. We found a considerable number of ancient and fine MSS. still in the Library, but forming a very small portion of what it once possessed. . . . . It is said that many were carried by the Huguenots to Geneva, and now enrich the public library of that town. The Cluny Muniment Room still contains one of the finest collections of Charters in the Kingdom."[2]

75. Towards the close of that century, the government of LEWIS XVI. commissioned an eminent archæologist, M. Lambert DE BARIVE, to make a complete series of transcripts, which occupied him for about twenty years, and was interrupted only by the Revolutionary excesses of 1790. His transcripts passed to the

1 *Le Cabinet des MSS.*, i. 365;—*Inventaire* ut sup., xii.

2 *Voyage Littéraire, &c.*, i. 227, 228.

National Library, and form the most important portion of "the Moreau Collection."[1] When the community was suppressed, some of the remaining Monks took with them the MSS. that happened to be, at the time, in their hands for study.[2]

76. The official inventory of 1790 specifies 189 volumes of MSS., and 3,507 volumes of printed books, as then remaining in the Library, *exclusive* of a mass of unbound books, which the Commissaries did not give themselves the trouble of examining. In the following year other Revolutionary Commissaries made a catalogue of printed books, but not of the remaining MSS. In 1801, a third Commissary, BAUZUN, of the town of Autun, upon occasion of a proposal to confer the remaining library of Cluny upon the "Central School" of that town, made a catalogue of the MSS. and printed books still subsisting. He found 910 printed volumes, and 295 *(two hundred and ninety-five)* MSS. The recent discovery of this Register in the departmental archives of the "Saone et Loire" has enabled M. DELISLE to establish, conclusively, that between the year 1800 and the year 1881, *one hundred and ninety-eight volumes* of Manuscripts were abstracted from the remnant of the noble treasures of Cluny Library, as it yet survived, when the worst atrocities of the Revolutionary horde of 1793 and the subsequent years were stopped by the strong hand of the first NAPOLEON. Those miserable precursors of the still more atrocious Socialist-Communists of 1870-71—men for ever branded with

1 *Le Cabinet des MSS.*, i. 568.

2 PHILIBERT BOUCHE: *Descrip. de Cluny* (MS. ii. 77).

infamy as the assailants of all that was greatest and noblest in the France of other days, at the very moment when France was trodden under foot by the mere brute force of an insolent and predatory foreign invader, fighting with enormous odds in his favour—met, in 1799, with that much-needed and most effective curb which, to their imitators of 1871, could be applied only very partially.

77. So great, nevertheless, was the devastation, that even so laborious and patient an inquirer as was BUCHON, the historian, believed, prior to his personal visit in 1829, that what remained was of no account. It was only when he searched the municipal mansion-house of the town of Cluny that he met with a remnant comprising no less than two hundred and twenty-five manuscripts—"rescued," he says, "from destruction." "I found them," he adds—with a sly satirical touch at the Town-Councillors of the day,—"scattered on the floor of an alcove; *waiting to be classified*."[1] But he had no power to do more than to remonstrate. At intervals Théodore CHAVOT;[2] Charles DES CHIZEAULX; M. PEUJON,[3] made like remonstrances in their turn; but it was left for the eminent and worthy historian of French printing, M. Auguste BERNARD, to add to indignant remonstrance vigorous, though tardy, action. Thanks to M. BERNARD, the French Government interposed at last (1876).

1 BUCHON: *Rapport sur les Institutions Municipales de Littérature, &c.*, 42.

2 Chavot's letter in Niepce's *Archeologie Lyonnaise*, 52; also *Destruction de . . . . Cluny* (1868-80).

3 *Cluny: la Ville et l'Abbaye* (1872), 156-159.

78. The remnant of the fine charters and documents of Cluny were not only arranged, classified, and effectually protected: they were put into a course of publication[1] by M. BRUEL, in that series of *Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France*, which is one of the innumerable claims of the illustrious historian and statesman, GUIZOT, to the undying gratitude of foreign students of history, as well as of Frenchmen. Lord ROMILLY followed, amongst ourselves, GUIZOT's example. Our "Rolls Series of Chronicles" is an imitation of the "*Documents inédits.*" But although the French example was followed, in Britain, in respect of publication, it has *not* been followed in respect of wise and liberal *free* circulation.[2]

79. The Cluny Charters are scattered far and wide; but many of them are not lost to scholars. Our own British Museum contains a considerable number. The strenuous and admirable researches of M. Léopold DELISLE, and of his predecessors in office, have recovered for the National Library an extensive series. These have been obtained by more than *sixteen* successive and independent purchases, ranging over about a century. The municipality of Cluny itself, in the year

1 Two vols. have appeared already (1876 and 1880, 4to.)

2 I write feelingly on this subject. When I had the honour of editing, for the Government, the remarkable and long-lost Chronicle entitled "*Liber de Hydâ*" (from a unique MS., discovered by myself, in 1861, at Shirburn Castle, in Oxfordshire,) I needed some copies of that book (as *gifts* to friends who had lent some furtherance to my labour). At the time of my performance of a toilsome task, I was in broken health, and was very poor; yet I had to pay to Messrs. Longman & Co. *six pounds*, for my copies. Not one shilling of that sum ever returned to my pocket. I am now very old, yet hope to live to see a better system established in that small matter—under the rule of so true and great a Statesman as is Lord Salisbury.

1881, sold to the National Library its right and title in all that it then retained of Cluny MSS. I think that the worthy Mayor, of that recent day, must have called to mind, at the time of this transaction, BUCHON'S caustic inuendo of 1829, for he covenanted—with M. Léopold DELISLE—that a *Catalogue* of the Cluny documents should be carefully prepared and published. It appeared last year (1884), under editorship which makes it surplusage to say that it is admirably done.

80. I may (not unfitly) add, by way of postscript, that when, as I have said already,* the Monks of Cluny, in or about the year 1483, brought Michael WENSLER from Basel, and established him as a printer in their time-honoured Abbey, he began business with the production of a fine *Missal*. From Cluny, printing spread to Macon,—a town specially interesting, for all time to come, as inseparably connected with the name and fame of a man who was at once a true Poet, and a true Statesman, Alphonse DE LAMARTINE.

81. Soon after the establishment of WENSLER at Cluny Abbey, a Cluniac Monk who belonged to Rothermunster, in the diocese of Constance, caused to be printed an edition of the *Fasciculus Temporum*, of 1481, with important additions from his own pen. It bears no imprint of place, but was, I think, produced at Strasburgh.

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82. The books that—although strayed far from their original abode, and (as respects many of them) their

* Page 70, above.

birthplace—are extant in known Libraries are not lost to literature. But too many treasures, known once to have existed at Cluny, have perished totally. Amongst these is a *Psalter* of St. JOHN Chrysostom, written in letters as golden as was the speech of the owner;—a choice collection of tracts of St. CYPRIAN;—and a very early copy of the *Ecclesiastical History* of GREGORY of Tours.

83. The Benedictine Abbey of St. MESMIN, in the diocese of Orleans, seems to have laid, as early as in the beginning of the tenth century, the foundation of what soon became a fine library. There are choice MSS. which once belonged to it, in the National collection of France.[1] There are others at Avranches; in the public library of Berne; and in the University library at Leyden.

84. Nearly at the same period began the formation of the still more remarkable collection at Reims, in the Abbey of St. Remi. Its surviving relics are still more widely scattered than are those of St. Mesmin. They are to be found not only in the vast repertory at Paris —which possesses more than twenty of them,—but also at Rome, at Wolfenbüttel, at Leyden, at Berne,[2] and (in the "Phillipps Library") at Cheltenham.

85. It is also in the tenth century that the Library of the Abbey of Fleury-on-the-Loire (diocese of Orleans) had attained to conspicuous wealth and eminence. It

1 DELISLE, *ut sup.*, ii. 408.

2 Ib., 411; SINNER: *Cat. Bibl. Bernensis*, i. 442, 491, 530.

comprised MSS. of great beauty and worth—of which a multitude still rank among the choice treasures of more than half-a-dozen great libraries, in all parts of Europe. Fleury was one of the many monastic communities which, like Cluny, were wrecked in the Huguenot strife of the sixteenth century. Its fine books were widely scattered. A large number fell into the hands of Pierre DANIEL, an advocate of Orleans, professionally connected with the community; others into those of BONGARS, of Berne, and other private collectors. DANIEL'S books, after his death, were acquired by the brothers Paul and Denis PETAU, from whom they passed, through Queen CHRISTINA of Sweden, to the Library of the Vatican. Those of BONGARS went—or, at least, the chiefest part of them—to the town of Berne. The great library of Paris possesses about 40 MS. volumes which, in all probability, had belonged to Fleury. Others are at Orleans; at Geneva; and in several other cities of Europe. Could the individual books tell their story of adventure, in the transit, they would, doubtless, be able to narrate many "moving accidents, by flood and field."

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

Page 56.] O'Donnel, in his *Life of St. Columb-Kill* printed by Colgan, gives a Latin hexameter version of the judgment in "*Finnian* v. *Columbkill*":—

"Buculus est matris, libris suus esto libellus."

(COLGAN: *Trias Thaumaturgus*, p. 409).

Page 63.] *For* "a precious Martyrology, 'known as' *The Book of Leinster*," the Reader is requested graciously to read "locally known." There is a much more famous "*Book of Leinster*" in the Library of Trinity College in Dublin, which contains a series of heroic and legendary Tales and miscellanies. It is on vellum (H. 2. 18.), and has lately been published, in fac-simile, by the Royal Irish Academy.

CHAPTER VII.

THREE REPRESENTATIVE BENEDICTINE LIBRARIES OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY:—(1,) THE LIBRARY OF THE ABBEY (NOW THE CATHEDRAL) OF EXETER;—(2,) THE LIBRARY OF THE PRIORY OF ST. SWITHUN (NOW THE CATHEDRAL) OF WINCHESTER;—(3,) THE LIBRARY OF HYDE ABBEY, NEAR WINCHESTER (DESTROYED).—LITERARY ASPECTS OF MONACHISM *(continued)*:—THE PARTIAL DISPERSION OF THE BOOK-TREASURES OF WINCHESTER.

> Behold! THE WORLD OF BOOKS is still "the World,"
> And worldlings in it are less merciful
> And more puissant. For the Wicked there
> Are winged like Angels; . . . . . .
> . . . . The Beautiful seems right
> By force of Beauty; and the Feeble wrong
> Because of Weakness. Power is justified,
> Though armed against Saint Michael! . . .
> . . . . . In the book-world, 'tis true,
> There is no lack of God's leal Saints and Kings;
> That shake the ashes of the grave aside
> From their calm locks, and undiscomfited
> Hold stedfast Truth, against Time's changing mask.
> —Elizabeth Barrett BROWNING: *Aurora Leigh*, Book I.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION. PART I. CHAPTER VII—THREE REPRESENTATIVE BENEDICTINE LIBRARIES.

86. THE grand old Cathedral of Exeter dates, probably, from about the year 900, and the Cathedral Library (as respects its first rudiments) is but of little more than one century later in its origin. The Cathedral, formerly the Priory of St. Swithun, at Winchester, dates also from the ninth century; and the foundation of its noble Library, from the latter part of the tenth. But it suffered several successive and violent destructions, before the ravages of the special days of

destruction—the days of the rapacious and ruthless Tudors.

87. The Library of EXETER CATHEDRAL was the foundation of Bishop LEOFRIC, some of whose Service-Books, given to his Monks about the year 1040, are still among the choicest specimens of liturgical palæography of which our Nation can boast. One particular service-book, given to Exeter by LEOFRIC, has very recently been made useful and instructive to hundreds of scholars, by the able reproduction of it, under the learned editorial care of my valued friend Mr. F. E. WARREN, Rector of Frenchay, near Bristol.

88. Most, however, of Bishop LEOFRIC's choicest and most precious volumes have changed their abode, —to the advantage, indeed, of students, but to the discredit of the Dean and Canons of a distant day. Those *keimelia* belong now, not to EXETER Cathedral, but to OXFORD University.

89. Alike in the varied career, and in the striking personality, of Sir Thomas BODLEY, no feature, perhaps, is more salient than is the wonderful influence which he exerted over men of the most diverse character, and of the most varied pursuits in life. Divines, like USSHER; State-craftsmen, like BURGHLEY; Leaders of a Nation, like RALEGH; Mystics, like Kenelm DIGBY; Archæologists, like COTTON; were wont to listen patiently to BODLEY's explanations of the motives which led him, after toiling for years in hope to become Secretary of State to Queen ELIZABETH, contentedly "to set up his "staff, at the Library-door in Oxon," and to aid, zealously, his project for making that door the one

main avenue in all England to an universal collection of Books freely accessible to all men who could shew decisively that they were real students. The five men I have named above are but the sample of twenty. With the one exception of RALEGH, all of them were avowed book-collectors;—each of them was (at the very time when BODLEY talked to them of his own project) intent on building up a Library for his own special enjoyment. Every one of the five, together with scores of their common acquaintances of like tastes with themselves, gave some of his most precious volumes to BODLEY's new institution; and took pains to persuade others to do the like. BODLEY had not in vain been, for the best twenty years of his life, a diplomatist.

90. Out of EXETER Monastic Library (afterwards the Library of the Cathedral) the very choicest volumes were picked to enrich the Bodleian. But the Library grew, and its grafts came soon to be as vigorous as had been the prime stock. At this date (July, 1885) it possesses about 8000 printed volumes; a considerable number of MSS.; is well catalogued; is liberally accessible; and is under the intelligent guardianship of the Rev. H. E. REYNOLDS, M.A., assisted by Mr. John KEMP.

91. For a long period the Cathedral Library was kept in the Lady-Chapel, where it suffered somewhat from damp and neglect. The Printed Books have long been preserved in the Chapter-House. The Manuscripts, say the Cathedral Commissioners in their *Report*, "are kept in deal presses, under lock and key, in an "upper chamber—where they still suffer from damp— "attached to the Cathedral." The necessity of such a

separation, in order to the safe keeping of the precious treasures which these manuscript volumes contain, may possibly have existed, but is far from being obvious or probable; and assuredly the practice ought not to continue (even if the dampness of the room be remedied), save for good reason shewn.[1]

92. No other Cathedral in England can produce to the visitor a book given to it by its first Bishop. The volume of Saxon poetry presented by Bishop LEOFRIC—*exempted* from that exuberant gift to the BODLEIAN LIBRARY which I have narrated above—is in excellent preservation. It is but one of many Saxon MSS. of the highest interest which may still be examined in Bishop LEOFRIC'S venerable Cathedral—so replete with interest of every kind to the devout English Churchman, as well as to the studious English archæologist. Amongst them is a transcript of so much of *Domesday Book* as relates to the counties of Cornwall, Somerset, and Devon, of very high antiquity, and possibly, as some think, strictly contemporaneous with the famous Record of the Exchequer. In support of this opinion, and in proof that the Exeter *Domesday* must have been written from actual survey, the fact is adduced that it invariably includes entries of the live-stock maintained on the various lands described; particulars which do not appear in the Exchequer *Domesday*. By a circumstance too fortunate to be of frequent occurrence, a leaf which had been abstracted from the Exeter book in

1 It does not appear from Mr. Reynolds' recent paper, read to the Library Association, whether or not this is still the practice. It was so when my own last visit was paid to Exeter Library, but many years have elapsed since then.

the middle of the sixteenth century, was restored to it in the nineteenth. It was found by Mr. Walter Calverley TREVELYAN (afterwards Sir Walter), a descendant of WILLOUGHBY, Dean of Exeter in the time of HENRY VIII., amongst his family papers. Amongst the other choice manuscripts are English Chronicles, Psalters, Missals, a multitude of small tracts on various subjects, and many records connected with the Church of Exeter itself. None of these have ever been adequately described. That contribution of Mr. REYNOLDS to the Proceedings of the *Library Association of the United Kingdom*, which was listened to at Oxford with so much of interest, and so much of expectation, failed to describe the ancient MSS. of Exeter;—treasures committed to his personal custody;—the description of which, *at Oxford*, would have had a special interest, and a special fitness.

93. In addition to a very considerable assemblage of theological works, the PRINTED portion of the Library is rich in British History, and includes not a few books and tracts of much rarity. There is no ancient endowment for the Library separately, but the Chapter annually grants twenty pounds for purchases. General access, say the Cathedral Commissioners, is permitted "by leave of the Chapter." And this leave is liberally granted.

94. Of late years, the loan of volumes has averaged 124 annually. The earliest MS. Catalogue of the Library is dated 1506. There are printed Catalogues dated respectively 1682, 1752, and 1840. The chief

donors of books are Canon BURSCOUGH, Humphrey SMITH, and Lord MIDDLETON.

95. At Winchester, both the OLD-MINSTER (or St. SWITHUN'S) and the NEW-MINSTER (or St. PETER'S; afterwards Abbey of HYDE);—alike possessed Libraries of some mark. The former was the foundation of men conspicuous for asceticism and for industrialism. They were, at first, very little conspicuous for love of books. The latter was the creation of a Founder pre-eminent, of all contemporary men, for Learning, and for the love of Literature. He gathered round him, for the special purposes of his NEW-MINSTER, a whole galaxy of scholars, the pick and cream of their period. Yet the Library begun in St. Swithun's Abbey in the tenth century subsists at the close of the nineteenth century, in noble vigour. It gives, under the bland auspices of Dean KITCHIN, the hospitality of the loan of books to students who live far remote from Winchester, whilst providing very ample appliances for those who are so happy as to live near to Winchester. The Library founded in New-Minster, afterwards HYDE, which, for a brief interval, possessed Monastic craftsmen more renowned for calligraphic scription, and taste for illumination and rubrication, than their near neighbours, had almost perished of inanition, before the inroads of the all-devouring satellites of Thomas CROMWELL.

96. SWITHUN was born in Winchester (*cir.* A.D. 805); became Dean of the old Minster (*cir.* A.D. 840); distinguished himself in the promotion of public works, even before he succeeded (A.D. 852) to the Bishopric.

As Bishop, he won universal love and respect. SWITHUN (says the earliest of his Biographers) "loved not pride, nor to ride on gay horses; nor to be praised or flattered of the People. By his own holy life, he made others to live virtuously."[1] Another, and metrical, biographer—of later date (13th century)—writes thus;

> "Saint Swithun his Bishopric to all goodness drew;
> The town, also, of Winchester he amended enow,
> For he caused the strong Bridge, without the town, arear,
> And found thereto lime and stone, and the workmen that were there."

97. There seems to be ground for the belief that ETHELWULF was influenced by SWITHUN to make that large and princely grant to the Church which ranks the King as the virtual Founder of Christian Missions in England, and as the initiator of that church-building impulse, which spread so rapidly far and wide, with results so memorable for all Christendom.

98. SWITHUN's provident care for Posterity, though it stretched so far abroad, always took thought also for the things near at hand. At the moment when he initiated the most fruitful of all methods for spreading Christian Faith throughout England at large, he built strong walls to protect his own Abbey-Cathedral at home. Those walls held back the ravaging Danes, when all else fell before them. SWITHUN died in (probably) the year 863. For more than a century thereafter, his own wish that his remains should lie,

1 Life, as printed in William Caxton's *Golden Legend* (1483).

undistinguished, in the common grave-yard was obeyed. But in July, 971—

> "The Saint who was so vile
> In his own eyes; who slept like common dust
> Outside the Church; extolled through Power Divine,
> By signs innumerous, and by startling proofs,
> Vouched meet to dwell with Peter and with Paul,
> Into *their* Church was now in triumph borne."[1]

99. SWITHUN'S special work for his Cathedral was vigorously resumed by his successor, ETHELWOLD, in the next century; and by many others as time wore on. Amidst good and evil fortunes, the Abbey prospered. It was ETHELWOLD who furnished the Library, as richly as circumstances permitted, with books—Latin, French, and English.

100. The separate story of the closely neighbouring communities were too long to tell. That of the New-Minster in the earlier ages; that of the Cathedral in modern days, will best elucidate my special subject.

101. The Monastic History of the England of our Forefathers abounds in romantic incident. But there are only a very few English Abbeys that have a history quite so romantic, or so varied, as that of New-Minster or Hyde Abbey. It stood on *Danemead*, very near to the beautiful capital-city of Hampshire,—once the capital of our Fatherland. Its monks fought in armour

1 The translation was accomplished with difficulty, on account of unusual rains. Hence the proverbial connection of St. Swithin's Day with enduring rain, upon a contingency.

for England, on the field of Sanglac, or, as we are all now wont to call it, the field of Hastings. The Community were bitterly punished by the Conqueror; were mulcted of many a fine manor in revenge for their staunch adherence to English HAROLD against Norman WILLIAM. But they survived his anger; and their successors played a conspicuous part—from time to time—in our national annals for many an age. When the riches of the Monasteries came to be quite too tempting and appetising, in covetous eyes, to be longer respected; when the "*sic volo, sic jubeo*" of an adulterous, a gluttonous, and a murderous king was strong enough to override law and honour and true public policy, his agents (under the mask of Reformation) destroyed—with hundreds of others—the one Abbey in all England that could boast of its origin from one of the greatest, wisest, and most pious of English kings. And Hyde Abbey was not only the Creation of ALFRED THE GREAT; it was also his Tomb.

102. A recent visit to Winchester—the latest of perhaps a score, or more, of visits thither, all of which are remembered with interest and pleasure—reminded the present writer of his careful exploration, in years long bygone, of the now very scanty remnants of what was once so eminent a "cynosure of neighb'ring eyes" in this County.

103. Hyde Abbey was only for a brief period remarkable for its Literature. But—howsoever we may now estimate the worth of its staunch adherence to HAROLD against WILLIAM—it is certain that the Community rendered good public service, in return for its broad lands

and its well-stocked barns, in many channels of activity (less open to question than was its appearance in battle array in 1066) and on many critical occasions. To give one or two examples merely:—It strenuously withstood the attempt of Cardinal HENRY of Blois (Bishop of Winchester from A.D. 1129-1171, and brother of King STEPHEN) to withdraw the See of Winchester from its allegiance to Canterbury; to obtain from the Pope a Bull for converting it into an Archiepiscopate, and for increasing its wealth—already abundant—by the systematic plunder of other sees and communities. The monks obtained the help of St. BERNARD, whose then influence at Rome came, it appears, to be the decisive means of defeating the Cardinal's skilfully-laid plans. The Community suffered more than its average share of losses in time of foreign war, of internal strife, of riot, and of famine. But in more prosperous times it upheld ancient hospitality and liberal charity. And it helped to educate the poor, in fair proportion to its means.

104. When ALFRED ascended the English throne (A.D. 871) he found his realm devastated by the effects of a long succession of wars; the Monasteries (speaking generally) in ruins; the Monastic Schools utterly destroyed. He says himself that it was then scarcely possible to find a man south of Thames who could translate a Latin letter into English. His first thought was to strike one vigorous blow against our Danish invaders. But he was completely outnumbered at Wilton, and perforce must conclude a truce. His second thought was to bend every effort to the strength-

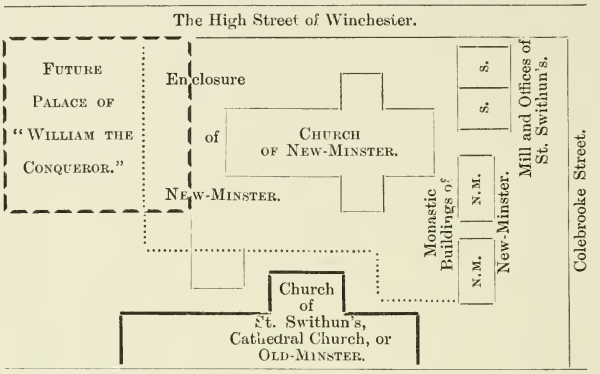
ening of our Navy;—the third, to rebuild the destroyed Monasteries, and to found new ones so planned as to have (next to their primary and palmary object of the worship and service of GOD) for their special aim the education of the English youth, and, to start with, pre-eminently of the youthful Nobles of England,—the future rulers of the people in time of Peace, and its leaders in time of War. From all parts of the Continent he sent for the most learned Monks he could hear of. GRIMBALD—pre-eminent for learning, for energy, for public spirit, for devoutness of mind—he destined from the first to be the head of his own foundation of New-Minster. The King's plans for the new Abbey were large, far-sighted, and many-sided. In one particular they erred, though the illustrious Founder did not live long enough to perceive, still less to rectify, the mistake which bore painful consequences for two and a quarter centuries. Then, at length, a remedy was found. And the remedy led to one of the most curious circumstances in the whole chequered story of the Abbey of Hyde.

105. Invading Danes were still pressing on struggling Saxons and Englishmen, from all sides, when ALFRED planned the foundation of New-Minster in the Close of Winchester. The protection of strong walls was now the primary necessity of all peaceful dwellers. And though the Monks of the New-Minster proved themselves valiant and of stout heart for War, Peace unquestionably was their vocation and their duty.

106. To be sheltered from the attack of foes, their Founder "penned them in" very closely within the precincts of that time-honoured Abbey of St. Swithun,

which all true Hampshire-men love and venerate devoutly, to this day, as "WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL."

A glance at this rude sketch will better explain the relative position of the *new* Monks and the *old* ones, than a long description would:—



107. The Reader will perceive that this *primary* site of the new Abbey combines every kind of inconvenience. The Monks of St. Swithun's could not ring their bells, without disturbing the quiet of their brethren of St. Grimbald's. Neither of them could form "a procession," without encroaching upon the territory of their near neighbours. The very singing of their respective Choirs became an impediment rather than an aid to Devout and Holy Worship. And the disadvantage from a sanitary point of view—though such matters were less thought of in the days of ALFRED and of St. GRIMBALD, than they are in our own days—was even then seen to be scarce a whit less serious an

impediment to well-being, than the over-close neighbourhood was to the delights and the blessings promised to those "Brethren, who dwell together in Unity."

108. The execution of the Founder's plans for that "Newan-Mynstre," which lay so near his heart, was long held in check by fresh invasions of Danes (A.D. 893, 895, 896), whose arrival in our land gave encouragement to their kinsmen in East Anglia, and in remote Northumbria, to rise again in arms. They had now a new chieftain, whose fierce courage vied with the valour of ALFRED. But the terrible HASTINGS, though equal with ALFRED in bravery, was his inferior in military skill. The strife, however, lasted long; it completely wore down the King's declining strength; arrested for years the literary studies in which he so much delighted; and probably it abridged those conferences about the rule and organization of the new Community, at the head of which he designed to place GRIMBALD, whom he had brought over from the Monastery of St. Omer, in France, in order that English monks might, by his saintly example, be won over to aim at a higher standard in their learning and literature. and at a purer discipline in their conventual life. Death came (901) before they could confer fully on these far-sighted plans. ALFRED'S son and successor, EDWARD the Elder, both presided at the dedication of the Abbey, and gave to the Community their first charter. It bears date 900,[1] but was unquestionably sealed and issued in

1 The same date is also given by Simeon of Durham, and some other Chroniclers. Of the various recensions of the *Saxon Chronicle*, some fall into like error; others correctly give 901.

901; although it may well have been roughly drafted in the former year. Some of its provisions were not definitively settled until the assembling of a Council at Winchester, called by EDWARD. In this primary Charter the Abbey is said to be dedicated (in anticipation of the actual ceremony) to the Holy Trinity. In a second and more detailed Charter of 903, it is described as the Abbey of the Holy Trinity, of the B. Virgin Mary, and of St. Peter. A mark (mancus) of pure gold was paid for each foot of the land on which the Abbey was built—extending to three acres and three virgates.[1] The new King was a munificent giver to the Community, which he loved for his father's sake and for his own. Five Hampshire manors[2] and three Wiltshire manors were among his gifts. Together they are said to have extended to more than 27,000 acres.[3] This pious and open-handed monarch, after a (on the whole) very prosperous reign of twenty-four years, was buried at New-Minster beside his father—to share with him and with St. GRIMBALD, the brutal desecration of 1793. EDMUND the Elder; his brother ELDRED; their two curiously-contrasted nephews EDWY and EDGAR—"the thorn," and "the rose," of the monkish Chroniclers

1 . . . . "passus uniuscujusque istius loci emit uno mancuso purgatissimi auri."—*Propositio principalis causæ quare* Novum *ædificatum est* Monasterium.

2 Namely, Micheldever; Abbot's Aune; Brown-Candover; Durley; and Thorley;—the three Wilts manors were Cranbourne (now part of the estates of our truly illustrious Premier—whom may God preserve,—and the manor from which he derives his second peerage title); Collingbourne; and Chiseldon.

3 Taking the acreage of the "hide of land" according to the most accredited estimate.

—all followed in EDWARD's steps, in respect of beneficence to his favourite Abbey. Collectively, they converted his 27,000 acres into, at least, 40,000—spreading out into Berkshire on the one hand, into Sussex on the other.

109. GRIMBALD governed the Community well and wisely under the Augustinian rule, but his life was spared for little more than three or (perhaps) four years after his arrival in England—and part of that brief span was spent (in all probability) at Oxford. His residence and influence *there* have been much questioned. When the present writer stood, not long ago, in the venerable and beautiful Crypt (beneath the former Church of the University—St. Peter's in the East—whence so many of the brilliant lights, of the best days of our dear Anglican Mother, have shed their soul-enkindling influences,) which bears GRIMBALD's name, he felt most strongly, as many wiser men have felt before him, that not one iota was there in view which, in any way, tended to conflict with the *tradition* that it was under GRIMBALD's eye, and by his inspiration—or rather that of the Almighty FATHER working in and through His humble instrument and creature—that the structure rose, long before the Norman Conquest; the good Monk himself intending that when GOD should be pleased to call him hence, his body should rest in that Crypt.

110. The event, however, was otherwise determined, by higher wisdom than that of St. GRIMBALD. The new wine did not suit the old bottles. Men trained in the rude and primitive Oxford of King ALFRED's days resented the introduction of foreign Scholars from France,

howsoever brilliant their reputation and their example. The circumstances are shrouded in much of dim obscurity. But the fair probability is that the dissension between old scholars and new at Oxford may have been the determining cause of the foundation of the New-Minster at Winchester. Proof is quite unattainable.[1]

111. The history of almost every monastic community (that lived long enough to outgrow its cradle) alternates between a period of lax discipline, and a period of vigorous reform. The first "reformer" of New-Minster was ETHELWOLD, Bishop of Winchester—the "Father of Monks" of the Chroniclers. He caused the Benedictine rule to be substituted for the Augustinian. The impulse, however, was given by DUNSTAN. And to make the reform really effective needed all the influence of King EDGAR, backed by a Papal Bull. The struggle was hard, and it lasted long. Many of the

1 The passage in Asser's "Life of King Alfred"—of which all the MSS. seem now to be lost—and the one book on which this whole question hinges, is found in one Edition only,—that, viz., of Twyne. "In consequence," it is there said, of the opposition shewn to him and his disciples by the old Oxonians, "he retired himself to that Winchester Abbey *which had been lately founded by* ALFRED . . . *(ad Monasterium Wintoniense, ab* ALFREDO *recens fundatum, profiscebatur, . . . quam quidem Ecclesiam* [*D. Petri in Oxonia*], . . . *idem* GRIMBOLDUS *extruxerat ab ipso fundamento de Saxo summa cura perpolito.)*" In the time of Twyne there were still extant MSS. of Asser which contained a full account of the building of this church with stone brought from a well-known quarry (long since disused) at South Hincksey. The crypt, it may be added, is in dimensions 36 feet by nearly 21 feet, and is nine feet high. It is weird-like in the solemnity of its aspect, as well as of its associations. Very near to St. Peter's stood St. Neot's Hall, the earliest of the long list of Oxford halls. . . . See Wise's Edit. of Asser, *Vita Ælfrida;* comp. Hearne's *Collectanea*, xxxix. 179; and his note in *Lib. Niq.*, p. 570. The Church was the first built of stone in the Midlands, and is said to have attracted crowds of people from a great distance to gaze at it. An incised figure of a dragon is still to be seen on one of the pillars.

Augustinian Canons had taken to themselves wives. Many were become habitual absentees, and were rarely, if ever, in residence at New-Minster. The first successor of GRIMBALD who left any deep mark upon his Community was ETHELGAR, who came to it from Abingdon —possibly in 968, but the date is doubtful,—which had already won repute for learning and for discipline. But ETHELGAR's nurture was drawn from a more famous place. He was bred in that

> . . . . island valley of Avilion,
> Where fell nor hail, nor rain, nor any snow,
> Nor ever wind blew loudly; but it lay
> Deep-meadowed, happy, fair, with orchard lawns
> And bowery hollows, crowned with Summer sea. . .

When ETHELGAR was only a monkish neophyte at Glastonbury, its Church was still venerated as that sacred fane which JOSEPH of Arimathea had founded; though the legends of "the return of King ARTHUR" had ceased to attract popular attention, or to find credulous listeners. When he left Glastonbury for Abingdon, the favourite abode of DUNSTAN was already regarded as the truest exemplar in all England of perfected Benedictine holiness.

112. The training which DUNSTAN began at Glastonbury was completed, on the same model, by Bishop ETHELWOLD at Abingdon. When his preliminary measures for the reform of New-Minster seemed to him ripe for the crowning operation, he put Abingdon men into the Wintonian stalls; but left to the new Abbot the practical working out of his plans. The good Bishop's

zeal had clothed itself in the very amplest garb of Christian firmness and energy; but the Christian meekness was still lacking. ETHELGAR possessed gentleness, as well as resolution. He had the soft hand, as well as the steel glove. The distresses of the expelled Canons, and of their long-tolerated families, could touch his heart, though they had failed to touch the heart of ETHELWOLD. In the firm resolve that performance should eventually wait upon profession, they were both at one. ETHELGAR ruled New-Minster for about thirteen years. The great Reformer—some of whose yet remaining, and somewhat legendary, "memorials" the Writer had, some years ago, the pleasure of examining, amidst the ruins of the archiepiscopal palace at Mayfield—who had taken him by the hand as a Novice, at Glastonbury, lived to consecrate him as a Bishop,[1] at Selsey; and was himself succeeded by him, as Primate of all England, in the year 988. In the Abbacy of New-Minster, ETHELGAR was followed by ELFSIGE, who continued to hold that office during seventeen years, and was in turn succeeded, in 995, by BRIGHTWOLD. These two incumbencies, together with the next following one of BRIGHTMERE, covered collectively a term of about half-a-century—marked by much national calamity, and by more than one political revolution. But during all that time, the days at New-Minster—like those of the Poet's "THALABA"—went peacefully by—

"In full enjoyment of profound repose."

1 The "Hyde Annals," in MS. Harl., MDCCLXI., agree with some other Chronicles, in dating Ethelgar's Episcopate as 977. William of Malmesbury dates it (on better evidence) in 980.

But the repose was ominous. It was the calm before the storm.

113. It was during the Abbacy of ALNOTH, or ALFNOTH, the immediate successor of the last-mentioned Abbot BRITHMERE, that King CANUTE, the Dane, gave to the Community that famous "Golden Cross of Hyde," which figures so conspicuously in several incidents of the local history, occurring in long subsequent times. He was a great friend to the Monks of St. Grimbald, and made to them many gifts. His alleged charter, granting to them the rich manor of Woodmancote, is still occasionally shewn to such visitors of Winchester College as may care to look at the College muniments; but its genuineness is very questionable. There is, however, as little doubt that the Monks held that manor in their day, as there is that it is held by the College now. CANUTE'S widow, EMMA (Elfgifa-Emma, or Elgiva) followed his liberal example, and among her gifts to the Monks was the *head* of that much-venerated saint and martyr, Saint VALENTINE.[1] His festival is (or has been) familiar to all of us; but how it came to pass that his head (which was struck off at Rome in the third century) was given by an English Queen, in A.D. 1041, to an English Abbey, there is no account. Its reception was the cause of much rejoicing, and its exhibition a source of much profit to the possessors. They were scarcely less proud of it than of their gorgeous processional Cross, with its great images of silver and

1 *Liber de Hyda* breaks off abruptly at A.D. 1023, but the gift is recorded in the Harleian MS., "1761," *Registrum Cartarum Abbatiæ de Hyda*, fol. 16. It is also told in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under A.D. 1041.

gold; its numerous precious jewels; and its several sacred relics.

114. There is no other notable incident in the Hyde annals till we reach the memorable year 1066. The then Abbot, ALFNOTH II., was the brother of Earl GODWIN, and the uncle of King HAROLD. His sacred function had not, it seems, at all cooled that warlike ardour which must have been natural to a man who came of such a gallant strain. He chose, out of his black-robed flock, the twelve Monks who were most notable for strength of thew and sinew; made them to exchange the Benedictine cowl for the Saxon helmet, and to head a sturdy troop of men-at-arms on the field of Hastings. The whole band shewed that "their limbs were made in England;" fought most gallantly; and fell, almost to a man, where they fought. They were very far from being unmarked by the Conqueror. He noted his appreciation of their prowess by a grim pleasantry. Such an Abbot as ALFNOTH, he said, "must be worth a barony, at the least; and twelve such monks, a manor apiece. And that is the penalty I will exact." He did not fail to choose the best manors the Community held. Among those which he escheated was what is now our illustrious Premier, Lord SALISBURY'S, manor of Cranbourne, in Wilts; the manors of Andover, Whorwell, Lansmere, Up-Warneford, and Popham in Hants, on the mainland; Barton (very near to our Gracious Queen's favourite summer abode), Bangbourne, and Merton,—all in the Isle of Wight; together with part of the Isle of Portsea, and with, at least, one fine Berkshire manor. In sum, the Monks of New-Minster

forfeited for their daring gallantry at Hastings, about (at the lowest estimate) seventeen thousand broad acres,[1] some of them amongst the best land in the country, in addition to the rich contents of the Monastic treasury at New-Minster itself.

115. When WILLIAM Rufus made up his mind that, whereas his father had laden the Monks of St. Peter "with a heavy yoke," he would add to that yoke; and whereas the Conqueror had "chastised them with stripes," he would, in his turn, "chastise them with scorpions;" he found a ready instrument in his infamous Chancellor, RADULPHUS Flambard or Passe-Flambard ("Ralph Pass-the-Torch"), and also a fit sub-agent in ROBERT de Losinga, Bishop of Norwich, who bought the Abbacy of New-Minster, by a flagrantly simoniacal contract, for his father, HERBERT de Losinga. Part of the revenues of the Abbacy were also to be given to the King. As so often in all days, indignation gave birth to poetry—rude but incisive:

1 The Statement and Estimates are very conflicting. Thomas Rudborne (*Historia Major Wintoniensis*, pp. 248, 249) gives an enumeration of lands which leads to the estimate cited above. But recent editors of Dodsworth and Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, founding upon a comparison of the Domesday current assessments for the year 1086 of the Abbey lands with that of the assessment in the Confessor's reign, make such large additions as to raise the estimate to twenty-five thousand acres. This seems to me to be a somewhat rash conclusion. The rules which governed these assessments are involved in much obscurity. On the other hand, William had relented towards the Community of St. Peter before the date of the Survey, and may well have moderated its incidence. In his closing years he gave to them Alton and Kingsclere, and restored to them the beloved Cross of Canute. Laverstoke (near Whitchurch) was *not* a gift from William, as is asserted in the last edition of the *Monasticon;* unless to restore a thing to the owners who had been wrongfully deprived of it, for a time, is to make "a gift." The reign of Rufus was a cruel reign for the Monks of St. Peter (or of "St. Grimbald") as for so many other of Englishmen. But it was happily a brief reign.

"Surgit in ecclesia monstrum, genitore Losinga,
Simoni dum secta, canonum virtute resecta,
Petre nimis tardas, nam Simon ad ardua tentat,
Si præsens esses, non Simon ad alta volaret.
Proh dolor! Ecclesiæ nummis venduntur et ære.
Filius est præsul, pater abbas:—Simon uterque.
Quid non speremus si nummos possedeamus?
Omnia nummus habet; quid vult facit, addit, et aufert,
Res nimis injusta, *nummis fit Præsul et Abba.*"

The first year of the reign of HENRY I. (Beauclerc) brought relief from this, as from many other scandals. Its *tenth* year brought to the Monks of New-Minster the means of at length exchanging their pent-up abode within the crowded city for a capacious and well-built edifice in free air, upon its northern side, "beyond the walls." They chose part of the spacious plain which had long been notable to them, as a Community, for its share in a famous incident in the life-career either of ATHELSTAN, or else of ETHELRED, the darling son of their great Founder. That incident has been so overgrown with fabulous accretions, that its substantial verity came for a long interval to be wholly, or almost wholly, disregarded. Often, the nineteenth-century Critic and the twelfth-century Monk do much more than approach the Disputed Shield from opposite sides. They meet with opposed faiths. The one believes (or affects to believe) that everything in earth, or sea, or sky is "explainable" and comprehensible. The other humbly believes—and truly—that many things can, as this our mortal life, be neither explained nor comprehended. He believes, from his heart, that GOD "resisteth the proud," and "giveth grace to the humble." To the

Monks who, in the year of grace 1100, or thereabout, raised upon "Dane-mead," hard by Winchester, a splendid building for the humble service of Almighty GOD, and for the relief of the distresses of their fellow men, that meadow was the scene of a very memorable and very pregnant combat between "Dane" and "Englishman," in days which, by stern necessity of events, and under beneficent Providential dispensations, were marked by a real and essential antagonism in the tenth century between races which in the nineteenth century are united by the happiest of all possible alliances, and by the most blessed of all possible auguries.

116. And, in truth, for that much-derided "legend" of GUY and COLBRAND, there is evidence quite as conclusive as there is for many the least controverted facts of our history. No subsequent accretion of legend—how large soever—can destroy the historical character of the incident itself which gave birth to the legend.

117. Originally, DANESMEAD was given to the Monks of New-Minster by King ETHELRED, in the eleventh century, and therefore within twenty years of the most probable date of the combat itself. The grant is not now extant; but, in a list of benefactors, almost contemporary (and of which there is a copy, made in the sixteenth century, in COTTON MS., Vesp., D. ix.), it is described as "*pratum quod vocatur*, Dennemarcke, *ad quod jacet fluvius qui vocatur* Ithen" [Itchen]. It became one of the Conqueror's many seizures, abovementioned; but was restored to the community in May, 1281.[1]

1 *Registrum*, &c., as above, in Cott. MS., Domit. xii. ff. 43, 44.

118. In simplest form the story of GUY of Warwick is this: Born at Wallingford in Berkshire, he early distinguishes himself by his knightly prowess, and gains as its reward the hand of FELICIA, daughter and heiress of ROUALT, Earl of Warwick. The marriage is happy, but a dream soon makes a deep impression on GUY's mind, and induces him to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He parts from FELICIA, carrying with him her favourite ring. Nothing is heard of him, in England, and many years elapse. The Danes, under their King ANLAF, renew their invasion, and advance towards Winchester, bringing with them a Danish Goliah, called COLBRAND. The King looks in vain for his match among the warriors of England; but to him also a dream is vouchsafed, in which he is told to rise at dawn, and to watch for a Palmer who will enter Winchester by its northern gate. In that Palmer he will find a David. The Palmer appears,—poor, hungry, careworn, and wayworn. He accepts the proffered combat, and slays the giant with his own axe, which he then dedicates to GOD. He tells the King that he is GUY of Warwick, returned from Palestine, but takes a pledge of secrecy. From Winchester he goes to Warwick, where he finds his wife, but is not recognised. He withdraws to the Forest of Arden, and, like "Duke FREDERICK,"—

> There, meeting with an old religious man,
> After some questions with him, is converted—
> Both from his enterprise, and from the world.

His hermit-life lasted but nine months. Then, feeling the approach of death, he sent to FELICIA the token

ring, as proof that his love lasted till death did part them.

119. The earliest versions of this popular story are no longer extant. The current stories antedate the combat at Winchester by throwing it into the reign of ATHELSTAN; whereas, in all probability, it really occurred in that of ETHELRED, the grantor to the Monks of New-Minster. The writers confound two distinct ANLAFS, whose dates differ by almost seventy years. The battle and its decorative adjuncts are most fully set forth in the French metrical romance *Guy de Warewike*;[1] in the French prose romance *Guy de Warrewik*;[2]—in *Chronicon Abbatiæ de Evesham;* in John LYDGATE'S *Guy de Warwik;* in John LANE'S *Corrected Historie of Sir Guy, Earle of Warwick, surnamed the Heremite*,[3] which is the more memorable for having a commendatory sonnet by the Elder John MILTON, father of the author of *Paradise Lost.* It is told, also, by the English Chronicler KNIGHTON (A.D. 1366?), and, also, by the anonymous author of the partially-lost Chronicle, *De gestis Regum Westsaxonum*, of which the only now known passages occur, as quotations, in Lord MACCLESFIELD'S MS., *Liber de Hyda.*[4] The English metrical romance of *Guy* is only a recension of the French one.

120. The late Mr. R. B. WOODWARD, author of the

1 MS. Harl., 3775, ff. 15-26 (end of 13th century).

2 MS. Royal, 15 E. vi. ff. 227, *seqq.* (15th century).

3 MS. Lansd., 699, ff. 18-27 (15th century). This MS. formerly belonging to that charming poet, William Browne, author of *Britannia's Pastorals.*

4 MS. Harl., 5243.

5 Published in the Rolls series of English Chronicles.

earlier portion of the most recent "*History of Hampshire*," was so deeply imbued with the "modern spirit," as to write thus scornfully of the story of GUY and COLBRAND:—"*The only foundation* for this legend . . . is the original name of the spot selected [*sic*] . . . *Denemede*, which signifies no more than the meadow in the valley." . . And he goes on to add, more strangely still, . . "In the reign of JOHN, and long afterwards, . . [Denemede] . . *was a surname in Winchester.*" How different, and how much wiser, the well-weighed words of a long prior Hampshire historian, pious and worthy Dr. John MILNER (words written about ninety years ago): . . . "To reject the *groundwork* of a history, which is founded on so many ancient records, and *supported by immemorial tradition*, . . . and by a great number of monuments still existing, or that existed until of late, savours of absolute scepticism."[1]

121. It was under the immediate rule of an Abbot GEOFFREY I. (1106-1129), and under the episcopal government of William GIFFARD, thrice Lord Chancellor of England, that the Monks of St. Peter and St. Grimbald moved from New-Minster to Hyde. The soil was soft and springy. Much of it, indeed, was a natural water-meadow. But monkish architects were skilful architects. They knew how to build and to plant, as well as how to govern and to bless. They brought from a great distance a vast mass of clay, and laid it to the depth of four feet, over all parts of the site that were treacherous or doubtful. And, when they had got a

1 MILNER: *History of Winchester*, i. 145.

good foundation, not much inferior to "concrete"—well beaten down—they built solidly and slowly; as those who build

"Not for an age, but for all time,"

—if fire and sword (D.V.) permit.

122. In the year 1110, they marched in grand procession from the old home to the new. They bore with them the Cross of CANUTE, and the remains, far more precious, of their great Founder, with their other relics. The body of King ALFRED lay undisturbed, even amidst all the desecrations, sacrileges, and the frightful scandals, which disgraced, under HENRY VIII., our Reformation,—to be at last and most unhappily "rooted up," *for the better accommodation of Hampshire felons*, at the close of the eighteenth century.

123. The new Abbey itself—so lavishly and so firmly built—was burnt to the ground in the Civil War between the Empress MAUD and King STEPHEN, during the famous siege of Winchester (A.D. 1140). Abbot GEOFFREY, before whom the long file of Monks had carried their treasures in 1110, finished his course, and entered into his rest in 1123;—his immediate successor died in 1135. Then followed a long interregnum during the stormy times of STEPHEN. It was marked by a curious and eventful episode of quarrel between the Monks and their new Bishop, HENRY of Blois, the King's brother.

124. The memorable fire at Westminster, in 1731, which destroyed so large a portion of those precious

MSS. collected by Sir Robert COTTON—the remnant of which proved to be, in the issue, the real groundwork of our National Museum—was, in a special sense, unfortunate for the materials of Winchester History. Of many memorable records which then perished (wholly, or in part), although the MSS. themselves were unique, their subject-matter was, in many cases, abundantly illustrated elsewhere by other original documents. The destroyed Cotton MS. Vitellius, E. xii., contained, I think, some valuable matter *not* elsewhere on record; but one interesting memorial in that volume, entitled *Destructio Monasterii de Hidâ*, had fortunately been transcribed by the careful hand of Sir William DUGDALE, almost eighty years before the Cottonian fire. In that contemporary account, an indignant member of the Hyde Community expressly charges Bishop HENRY of Blois as being, individually, the author of their own like but more fatal calamity, six hundred years earlier (A.D. 1140). Long before it occurred, the Monks had been on the worst of terms with their Prelate, as, indeed, it had been their ill fortune to live very uncomfortably, also, with his immediate and peace-loving predecessor, Bishop William GIFFARD (1106-1129), with whom one cause of quarrel lay in the fact that whilst he loved pomp and ceremony better than ease and quiet, too many of the Winchester Monks of the period seem to have loved ease before almost all things else. Bishop GIFFARD, for an example, insisted on being himself attended in Winchester Cathedral, at the great Festivals of the Church, by the whole Hyde Community, duly robed, as well as

by the whole of the St. Swithun's Monks. If any other Prelate officiated, in his stead, he was content that *ten* Hyde celibates should represent the Fraternity. The men of St. Grimbald contented themselves with a strong protest against the vanity of so much state in things sacred and ecclesiastical. Those of St. Swithun were angrier and more demonstrative. Their Bishop had diminished their funds, whilst increasing their attendances. On one occasion they shewed their discontent by meeting barefoot, with their processional crosses reversed, and by marching round their cloisters from West to East, thus reversing the use of the Church. Protests of that sort, however, were but as lovers' quarrels, compared with the long and bitter conflict between the Hyde ecclesiastics and GIFFARD'S proud and turbulent successor, HENRY of Blois (1129-1171).

125. That ambitious Prelate had been a powerful instrument of his brother STEPHEN'S elevation to the throne. But the ties of duty which bound him to the Church were far stronger than the ties which bound him to King STEPHEN, who had vainly thought to make him subservient in all things. When the new monarch attacked Bishop ROGER of Salisbury, and Bishop ALEXANDER of Lincoln, their episcopal brother at Winchester shewed unmistakably that to be a Churchman, through and through, was his primary sense of his duty to GOD. And he was now a Papal Legate, as well as Bishop of Winchester. His loyalty to the Church was soon to raise him to the Cardinalate. The immediate cause of quarrel with the King was the same as BECKET'S with STEPHEN'S successor.

126. Bishop HENRY, like Archbishop THOMAS, contended that Prelates must be tried, for alleged offences, by the Pope, not by the King. When the Empress MATILDA landed in England, she was received by the Bishop of Winchester,—at first as the representative of her brother's presumably chivalrous courtesy to a competitor; but soon after—as the avowed ally and trusted counsellor of the Empress-Queen, against the now by her imprisoned King. All the Monks of the conjoined Winchester Communities, and with them the very Nuns—for the first time on record—of St. Mary's, escorted STEPHEN's powerful rival into Winchester. "MOLDE, the good Queen," of the funeral tablet, was then certainly "MOLDE, the proud" one. But the state of pride and splendour was short-lived. MATILDA's prosperity lasted but five months. Her coronation with great pomp in our beautiful Cathedral, was soon followed by her imprisonment, in turn, at the same hand as that which had placed the sceptre of St. EDWARD in hers, and which had given her what remained of the treasure of HENRY I. A peaceful Monk, with keen observant eyes under his cowl, looked on at both incidents, and has left us a vivid picture of what he saw.[1]

127. The March Coronation was followed by the August Siege. Bishop HENRY gave a great banquet in Wolvesey Castle, and tried hard, when the wine-cup had gone round freely, to make his guests declare for his brother. A warlike Mayor[2] of Winchester helped,

1 William of Malmesbury, in his famous Chronicle.

2 Then called "Provost."

mainly, to balk him, by slipping out unobserved, and securing Winchester Castle for MATILDA. The Prelate had already fortified Wolvesey,—for the strengthening and relief of which another MATILDA (STEPHEN's French wife) sent in an army, chiefly of Flemings. But the mercenaries were far more anxious to make booty, than to serve the King's cause. They plundered the city, whilst its Bishop threw fire-balls into the most populous quarter. Hyde Abbey was wholly destroyed; its famous Cross,—with its Library,—its Scriptorium,—and its (still more richly furnished) Sacristy. The Treasury had been pretty well depleted, long before the siege. HENRY had kept the Abbacy in his own episcopal hands, for five years and a half *before* its destruction occurred, and he still retained it for a year thereafter. Three hundred pounds a year out of its revenues he had applied to the promotion—not, certainly, of personal profit, or of luxury in living, but—of his schemes of ambition, and especially of his persistent effort to transfer the Abbacy into a (suffragan) Bishopric, and to make the See of Winchester Archiepiscopal and Metropolitan.

128. From twenty to thirty churches;[1]—the venerable Nunnery of St. Mary;—many almost palatial residences;—many precious monuments of Anglo-Saxon times;—shared in the destruction which befel the illustrious foundation of King ALFRED, and of his beloved friend GRIMBALD. It was due to the humane feelings and the piety of ROBERT, Earl of Gloucester (ROBERT

1 Some of the Chroniclers go so far as to say that *forty* churches were destroyed; but it is doubtful if the whole number of Winchester churches exceeded forty, in the aggregate; and it is needless to say that some of the churches of King Stephen's day exist at this day.

"Consul," son of HENRY I.) that St. SWITHUN'S PRIORY (now the Cathedral) escaped a like fate.

129. The last and crowning drop of humiliation in the bitter cup of the Monks of St. Grimbald—we must not say the crowning drop of "sorrow," for the constant sight of the "ashes" of their Golden Cross, in their days of poverty, would needs have reminded the Monks of their Golden Days under King CANUTE, after his penitence—

> Nessun maggior dolore che di ricordarse
> Dal tempo felice, *nella miseria*,

—came to them when the siege was over.[1] When the many sufferers by its numerous calamities were groping amidst the ruins, for such salvage as they could scrape together, the celibates found that their own salvage was considerable. Sixty pounds' weight of silver; fifteen pounds' weight of gold; three diadems, adorned with precious stones; two silver patens, gilt; two golden images, of the Blessed Virgin, and of her faithful protector St. JOHN; two very gorgeous "Salomonic lavers"[2] (called "Salomonic," as being fashioned after the pattern of the great lavers, in the Holy Temple "on the Mount"); a fine silver vase, for holy water, given, like the Cross, by King CANUTE; with censers, crucifixes, and relics innumerable, figure, at much greater length

1 If Henry Knighton's account be accepted, the raising of the siege was hastened by the romantic escape of the Empress Matilda, in a leaden coffin, out of the Castle. Knighton gives this incident in his *De Eventibus Angliæ*, ii.; apud Twysdeni *Scriptores decem*, col. 2387.

2 One of these, the Bishop, say his indicters, stripped entirely of its gold and gems. It it fair to remember, throughout this part of our story, that it is told, substantially, upon the faith of his bitter opponents. But there is also substantial corroboration from outsiders.

than in this epitome, in the long indictment which the Hyde Community sent against their Bishop, first to the King, in his Council; then, to St. BERNARD of Clairvaux, the universal judge of ecclesiastical controversies in the twelfth century; finally, to the Pope. Their plaints and charges included spoliations of their estates, in respect of which they alleged that their losses amounted to the enormous sum, for that day, of £4,862 sterling. But these suits dragged on wearily during almost twenty years. And the losses were embittered by domestic quarrel. The dissatisfaction of the Community with their Abbot, Hugh de LENS (1142-1151), as well as with their Bishop, combined with other incidents in the annals of that period, make an enquirer to think that, probably, the Monks were refractory under a reforming Head, who had abundant justification for his endeavour to enforce better discipline than he found to exist when he entered upon his office. A deputation, however, went to Rome, and obtained a Brief for his deposition. He was succeeded by SELID, or SALIDUS, whose rule endured until 1171. It was under this Abbot that the restored Library made progress, and that the Scriptorium (as it seems) became busy. Ten copies of the Holy Gospels were written by good scribes. But reviving literary zeal (on but a slender scale) was checked by the poverty induced in the years of political strife.[1] As late as 1311, proof occurs that part of the

1 *Destructio Monasterii de Hidâ* (apud *Monasticon Anglicanum*, edit. 1682, p. 210, col. 2; comp. *Damna quæ fecit Henricus Episcopus* . . . in MS. Harl. 1761, f. 3. Also, *Annales Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis*, in MS. Cott., Domit. A. xiii. fol. 32 (Dr. Luard's admirable printed Edit., p. 55). Much of this account, however, is based on William of Malmesbury's. Comp. Sir Thomas

Abbey was still in ruins. At that time Bishop Henry WODELOCKE directed the making of collections for the work of restoration at Hyde, throughout his vast diocese.[1]

130. The year 1171 witnessed the death alike of Abbot SELID and of Bishop HENRY of Blois. There are no very notable incidents in the annals of the year immediately succeeding. JOHN, who had previously, it is said, presided over the great Priory of Cluny, ruled Hyde for the almost unexampled period of forty-two years, and ruled with vigour. Under him (as it became a Monk of the illustrious literary Community of Cluny) the Library grew. His rule was peaceful, save for a sudden outbreak of violence, at a very unseasonable time. Very riotous proceedings disturbed the Community on a night—that of "the Seven Holy Sleepers"[2] which ought to have been specially calm. The fullest account is given by a St. Swithun's annalist, who perhaps made the most he could of his story—against his next neighbours.[4]

131. The thirteenth century was chiefly marked in the annals of Hyde by a sharp quarrel between the servants of its Abbot and those—chiefly foreigners—who came thither in the retinue (an unusually large one) of OTHO, the Papal Legate, who in 1267 kept his

Hardy's Edit. of *Historia Novella*, § 50. There is a fine representation of the great Cross in Strutt's *Manners and Customs*, vol. I., plate 28.

1 As to the re-construction of the Abbey Church, see Rudborne, *Historia Major*, p. 302.

2 *Registrum Henrici de Wodelock*, &c., MS. in Episc. Registry at Winchester, fo. 165.

3 July 27th, 1201.

4 See Cott. MS., Domit. A.B., folio 1, verso (Luard, p. 77).

Christmas with Abbot WILLIAM, of Worcester. It was kept too convivially, and led to the imposition of a Papal interdict for four weeks of 1268. The Abbey never recovered thoroughly from the spoliations of the preceding century. Exactly in the middle of the fourteenth century it sank so greatly into penury, that the estates were temporarily surrendered into the hands of William de EDINGDON, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor of England, an able Prelate and Statesman, who so administered them as to restore the Community to something like competent means of livelihood. But it rose from its ruins only slowly; to enjoy a brief period of well-being,—quickly followed by the covetousness, the rapacities, and the scandalous sacrileges which marked the reign of HENRY the Eighth. I will venture to say,—after no brief term of research amongst the Monastic Records of the "Court of Augmentations" (now in the Rolls House), and amongst the vast correspondence of Thomas CROMWELL (Earl of Essex) with his satellites of the Dissolution days, that but few Monasteries in all England give, by their subsisting records, a more striking illustration of the fraud, the crapulence, and the reckless violence, by which the Dissolution was effected, than do the records, in that day of turmoil, of the Abbey of Hyde.[1]

132. Up to this date (1352) the most distinguished writer in the younger of the Winchester Communities was JOHN, of Hyde, who seems to have exerted a

1 In the foregoing pages I have abridged portions of my Preface to *Liber de Hyda*, as edited in 1866. In relation to the story of "Guy of Warwick," I am much indebted to Mr. H. L. D. Ward's excellent Catalogue of MS. Romances in the British Museum (1883).

literary influence upon his brethren, second only to that of the learned cluster of Continental monks gathered together by St. GRIMBALD, when the Community of the NEW-MINSTER was in its cradle. And the literary influence so exerted at the beginning of the fourteenth century seems to have been almost as brief, in its duration, as was the like Grimbaldian influence, at the beginning of the tenth. JOHN, of Hyde,—one of the six Hampshire writers selected by FULLER,[1] when surveying the incidents of a period reaching over seven centuries, as pre-eminent over all others—gave a renewed impulse to the growth of the Hyde Library, and to the labours of the Scriptorium. He also wrote the History of his Abbey.[2] But that Community, though it did its fair spell of religious, social, and political work, in its day, and though it administered a princely Christian charity, was *not* destined to be a specially literary Community, in the later periods of its existence.

133. The interval between the temporary surrender to Bishop EDINGDON, and the final Dissolution of Monasteries in England, is an interval of a hundred and eighty eventful years. But the monastic annals at Winchester, during that long term, are comparatively quiet. The Community recovered a fair measure of temporal prosperity. In the early days of the great Statesman and Prelate, WILLIAM of Wykeham, it incurred his occasional censure for certain minor neglects of duty; in his closing days, it won his conspicuous praise; and every member of the Hyde Abbey, from highest to lowest, shared in

1 *Worthies* (Abridged Edition of 1684) p. 220.

2 A work lost, apparently, in the turmoil of the Dissolution.

his testamentary bounty.[1] Then, again, there was a new period of decadence; soon to be followed by punishment which far transcended the fault.

134. In the long line of Abbots of Hyde during this term of a hundred and eighty years—one eighth of which term alone, saw *six* successive Abbots in office, so rapid was their mortality—two men stand out saliently:—Nicholas STRODE, early in the fifteenth century; John SALCOT, early in the sixteenth.

135. STRODE took a conspicuous part in several of the Parliaments of the distracted reign of HENRY VI. He exerted an important influence upon the government of HUMPHREY, Duke of Gloucester, as Protector of the Realm. He governed his Abbey with skill and firmness, at a critical and trying time. Its recovery from almost ruin was necessarily slow; but it would have been slower still had not the Winchester Monasteries been governed with more wisdom than, in some respects, were the Winchester Citizens. For almost a century the decay of the town was as though the plague was constantly overshadowing it. The annalists tell, in that century, of the decay of one thousand and seventy *households*. Many churches were utterly deserted, and fell into ruins. It is a note of the time—and certainly not a note of its unwisdom—that the City Magistrates took special pains to keep up the wonted pageantry, upon certain great Festivals.

136. SALCOT was a man of still more conspicuous

1 See Wykeham's Will as printed by Dr. Lowth, in an Appendix to his excellent *Life* of the great Prelate and Benefactor.

parts than was STRODE. But he made a far worse use of them. His one aim in the world was that he himself might "get on" in it. And he had his reward, in his success.

137. The Chapter in which he was elected as Abbot of Hyde was opened in January, 1530. SALCOT was the candidate of WOLSEY, whose faculties like his fortunes were then fast fading—

> "Like a bright exhalation in the evening;
> No man to see him more."

The great Cardinal, in all probability, knew SALCOT but slightly. Had he known him well, he, with his own great plans for posterity still cherished, though cherished amidst fears, would not have fostered a man engrossed with "Self-Help."

138. The main cause of SALCOT's success was, that every kind of Court influence was exerted in his favour. CROMWELL and CROMWELL's satellites supported his candidature. The election excited the town largely. Day after day, crowds of Wintonians besieged the cloisters, to learn the progress of the contest, which occupied almost a month. At last (February 22nd) a monk, standing on the steps of the Chapter-House, announced to the citizens assembled in the Cloister that John SALCOT—already Abbot of St. Bennet-Hulme—was Abbot of Hyde.

139. The mere fact of such a gathering, and of such an announcement, of itself opens a vista into the occasional falsity—to say the least—of many current stories about the state of English Monachism when it fell.

Assuredly it was not enmity to townsmen and to their well-being; or the corruption of worldlings; or the lustful gratifications of self-love, seen by those assembled crowds in former Abbots, as their dominant passions and characteristics, which made the Wintonians of 1530 so eager to congratulate a new Abbot. They must have found, often, in an Abbot of Hyde, a friend and a benefactor. Of SALCOT, personally, they could know nothing, save by hearsay.

140. HENRY VIII., however, knew the man well. Very soon after SALCOT's election, the King writes to his Ambassador at Rome (by way of enforcing his desire that the Pope should commit "to certain abbots" the decision of the case of Queen KATHARINE of Aragon):—"*The Abbot of Hyde is a great Clerk, and singularly learned in Divinity.*" That famous question of divorce-law was to be disposed of differently. But SALCOT found many occasions of service. Give him a Bishopric, and he would yield not alone the Abbacy but the Abbey. His nature and his conscience were of kin to the nature and the conscience of the Thomas CROMWELLS and the Thomas WRIOTHESLEYS, of the period. And his rise in the world was akin to theirs.

141. Whilst SALCOT still held his Abbacy, HENRY made him Bishop of Bangor. As Bishop-Abbot, he began by relaxing the rule, and by impoverishing the Monks,—by degrees. Thomas WRIOTHESLEY—eventually Lord High Chancellor of England, and Earl of Southampton—took his first share in the plunder of Hyde at the very moment when the Abbot of Hyde *(in commendam)* became a Bishop.

142. I have seen and read CROMWELL'S first orders for "regulating" the Abbey, written in his own hand.[1] They are skilful steps towards its destruction in convenient season. They plan systematically the "softening" of the Monks by extended leave of absence for recreation; they provide for various diversions of the Abbey revenues—even to payment of persons residing in foreign Universities "for purposes of study." Very soon afterwards, WRIOTHESLEY[2] appears again on the Winchester stage, with some colleagues. They set speedily to work at the spoliation of the Cathedral-Abbey first: "This morning,"—so they write to CROMWELL (Sept., 1538,)—"we made an end of the Shrine, here at Winchester. . . . . *The silver thereof will amount to near* 2000 *marks*. . . . . Going to our beds-ward, we viewed the Altar, *which we purpose to bring with us*. . . . . Which done, we intend, both at Hyde and at St. Mary's, *to sweep away all the rotten bones that be called 'Relics,' lest it should be thought that we came more for the Treasure, than for voiding the abominations of Idolatry*."[3] This picture, drawn by his own hand, of a man soon to be seated in the marble chair of Sir Thomas MORE as

1 They are in MS. Cott. "Cleopatra," E. iv. (Brit. Museum).

2 Wriothesley was of a stock who for several generations were members of the Heralds' College. His grandfather had been "GARTER" in the reign of Edward IV; his father, "NORROY." He himself was bred in that College, but left it to seek his fortunes in an Inn of Court. He had travelled in Germany, and there had seen the Princess Anne of Cleves. Her personal charms were, in his opinion, few, and he communicated that impression to the King, whilst negotiations for the marriage were still immature. Henry, it is said, felt a rueful sort of gratitude to Wriothesley—afterwards.

3 *Cromwell Corresp.*, now in the Rolls House, forming "*Chapter House Records*, Bundle 'B.'"

Lord High Chancellor of England, spending the "small hours" of morning, along with a miscellaneous band of followers, in furtively hacking and hewing at Altars and Shrines, in order to despoil them of their jewels, goldsmith's work, and silver plate;—*for the better "Reformation of Religion,"* opens another and an instructive vista behind the scenes. . . . .

143. The Monastic Libraries and Scriptoria fared no better than did the Church and the Altar. Some of the books—and especially the Biblical ones—in both Abbeys—were splendidly bound. In the Library of St. Swithun's there was a copy of the *Gospels*, written in golden uncials, which was solidly plated with gold. This was "presented" to CROMWELL. A large portion of both Libraries was utterly destroyed, scattered abroad, or wasted.

144. The buildings of Hyde Abbey, with all their appurtenances, were given to WRIOTHESLEY, and all the ground they covered was granted to him upon lease. He pulled down the Abbey with great rapidity, and sold its materials, Many of its richest manors were granted to him in fee. When he had made all he could of the Abbatial buildings of Hyde, and had stripped St. Swithun's itself of much of its rich furniture and fittings, the site of the former passed to Richard BETHELL. In ELIZABETH'S reign, the place was visited, in company, by William CAMDEN and by Sir Robert COTTON. "In this once stately Church," wrote CAMDEN, "was buried the illustrious ALFRED, with many more Saxon Kings and Bishops. *At present, the bare site remains, deformed with heaps of ruins, daily dug up*

to burn into lime." After CAMDEN'S time, the very fact that the bones of ALFRED lay there seems to have passed out of memory. Two hundred and fifty years after the destruction, it was still possible to trace out the main foundations of the Abbey, and of the great Church. All else was mere guess-work. But it was certain that *somewhere*, within that limit, precious deposits—"precious" from quite another point of view than that of Lord Chancellor WRIOTHESLEY—still lay buried. In the year 1788 the Magistrates of Hampshire purchased, from the then representative in title of the Grantee, the site of the Abbey wherein was buried King ALFRED, to make of it a County "Bridewell," for the reception of misdemeanants and of felons. The gentle and venerable MILNER, the historian and the illustrator of our county, stood by, watching this desecration with grief, but with no power to intervene: "At almost every stroke of the mattock," he has recorded, . . "some ancient sepulchre or other was violated, the venerable contents of which were treated with marked indignity."[1] . . . . .

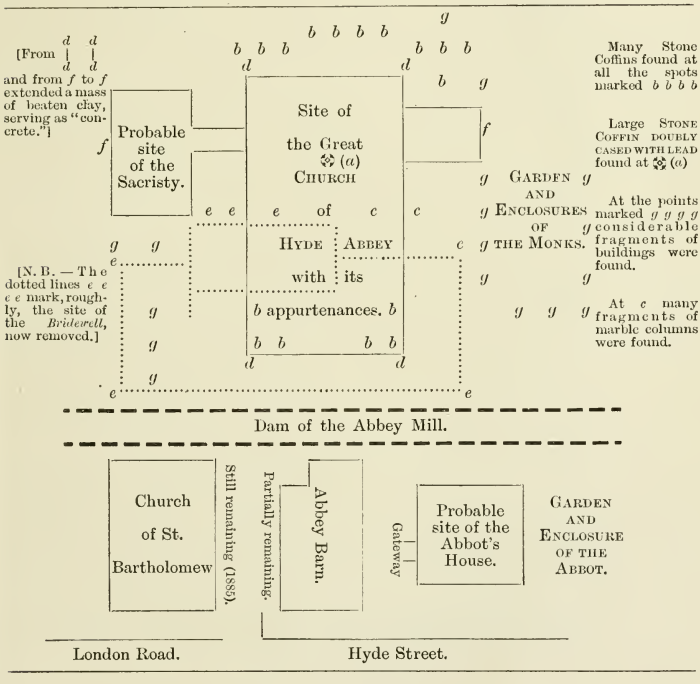
145. But there was another bystander,[2] who had more frequent and more minute opportunities to observe what went on from day to day. He has left it on record —through Mr. Henry HOWARD—that many stone coffins

1 MILNER: *Hist. of Winchester*, i. 227.

2 A clerk of the works to the Contractors, who subsequently narrated his observations to Mr. Henry Howard of Corby—a scion of the illustrious House of Norfolk and Arundel. What was told to Mr. Howard, some years after 1788, at Hyde—near to which he was then living in quarters with his Regiment—led him to make extensive researches, the substance of which he communicated to his brethren of the Society of Antiquaries. They were afterwards printed in the *Archæologia* (1798), under the title: *Enquiries concerning the Tomb of King Alfred at Hyde Abbey* (vol. xiii., pp. 309-312).

were found as the excavations proceeded—the bones within which were tossed into heaps of rubbish; some of the coffins being turned into water-troughs—in exact anticipatory parallelism with the proceedings of some of our Railway Companies when invading consecrated Church-Yards almost a century later. Patens, chalices, and rings were also found—to be converted into cash as opportunity offered.

146. A rude diagram will enable the reader to understand the matter better than would a host of additional words;—


[From d d | | d d and from f to f extended a mass of beaten clay, serving as "concrete."]
Probable site of the Sacristy.
Site of the Great ✠ (a) CHURCH
HYDE ABBEY with its b appurtenances. b
GARDEN AND ENCLOSURES OF THE MONKS.
[N. B. — The dotted lines e e e e mark, roughly, the site of the Bridewell, now removed.]
Many Stone Coffins found at all the spots marked b b b b
Large STONE COFFIN DOUBLY CASED WITH LEAD found at ✠ (a)
At the points marked g g g g considerable fragments of buildings were found.
At c many fragments of marble columns were found.
Dam of the Abbey Mill.
Church of St. Bartholomew
Still remaining (1885).
Partially remaining.
Abbey Barn.
Gateway
Probable site of the Abbot's House.
GARDEN AND ENCLOSURE OF THE ABBOT.
London Road.
Hyde Street.

147. The Reader, on glancing at this rough diagram, will perceive that, from the general contour of the clay-covered space *d d d d*, which indicates the site of the Great Church of Hyde, the spot marked (*a*) occupies the position where its High Altar might reasonably be looked for. Precisely at that spot various fragments of marble columns were found. At (*a*) three coffins —and only three—were disinterred. These were of a markedly superior kind to the coffins found at *b b b b* and elsewhere. Of these, most had been interred outside of the Church. It can be matter only of conjecture that the coffins found at (*a*) were those of King ALFRED, of EALSWYTH, and of King EDWARD the Elder; but the conjecture has all fair presumptions of probability in its favour. The decayed lead of the largest of these coffins was sold as "old metal" for two guineas. Probably a record of this sale might be found still in the County Finance Books.

148. Many fragments of sculpture from Hyde Abbey may still be seen built into neighbouring walls,[1]—as William COLE saw them in 1723, and as they were seen by the present writer in 1865; but every passing winter helps to deface them. Other fragments were carried by Mr. HOWARD into Cumberland, and are carefully preserved at Corby Castle.

149. The heirs of Richard BETHELL, reversionary grantee of the site, in 1538, received in 1788, a certain sum of *compensation-money*, out of the County Rates. The obtainment of leases of the estates of the

1 Of some of these the Reader may see engravings in John Carter's *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting in England.*

Church had been raised by HENRY VIII., and by ELIZABETH, to the dignity of a science, requiring close attention, but rewarding its students on a princely scale. Grafts from that characteristically Tudor tree have not yet ceased to bear fruit amongst us.

150. John LELAND, the laborious searcher into the remnants of the Monastic Libraries, made his literary tour in 1539, and subsequent years. He was at Winchester in the first-named year; the very next year, therefore, after the destruction of Hyde and the spoliation of St. Swithun. So effectually had WRIOTHESLEY performed his self-chosen task, that the Antiquary had nothing to record of the former, save only: "In this suburb *stood* the great Abbey of Hyde." He found a few torn fragments of its Library.

151. Of the printed portion of Winchester Cathedral Library, as we now see it, nearly all came by the bequest of George MORLEY, Bishop of Winchester, in the seventeenth century (1662 to 1684), to his Chapter. Although he held the See for more than twenty years, his liberality and public forethought were so great that he almost verified CHARLES the Second's prophecy to him on his elevation:—"You will never be the richer for it." The visitor is sometimes shewn, in the original manuscript catalogue of the Collection, the record of its gift in 1682, two years before the bequest took full effect by the testator's death. The volume is described as a "Catalogue of all the books in his Lordship's "Library, bequeathed by his Will to the Cathedral of "the Holy Trinity of Winchester, and which the longer

"he lived, he declared by his letter, should be the more "and not the fewer." The books thus bequeathed appear to occupy the same cases—forty in number —which contained them in the Bishop's palace. The series of Bibles—as respects both texts and versions—is a very noble one; and there is a good assemblage of works on British History, as well as on the General History of the Church. Many, also, of Izaak WALTON'S books are here, and not a few of them are enriched with his notes or autograph. The bulk of his Library was bequeathed to his daughter, the wife of Prebendary HAWKINS, by whose bequest they—in pursuance, I doubt not, of the understanding between Testator and Legatee—came eventually to the Chapter. The total number of volumes is about 3,800. The liberality of access is most exemplary. I have myself profited by it very many times during more than twenty years. I have been permitted to borrow, as well as to read. The like free access I have found in several other Cathedral Libraries.

152. Amongst the manuscripts may be particularized a fine Biblical Codex,—the Latin Vulgate, on vellum,—with miniatures which appear to be of the twelfth century. This MS. is in three large folio volumes; is written in two columns, and in a strong minuscule letter. The ornamentation is of beautiful design, of rich and well graduated colouring, and usually of delicate execution. Towards the end of the work, the pictures are unfinished; and throughout it occur, here and there, too many indications of the old Vergers' abuse, in the elision of illuminated initials, by way of

gift to visitors—for a consideration. But the MS. is still a noble one.

153. Bishop MORLEY was in all respects an honour to the See, already so illustrious in the rule of Prelates such as WYKEHAM, WAINFLEET, FOX, and ANDREWES. MORLEY, like WYKEHAM, was an able Statesman, as well as a devout and charitable Prelate. He had endured a long term of exile and of stern privation. He endured that trial as "seeing HIM who is invisible." I have read much of his original Correspondence in MS. It well merits the press. Of great and special interest is his Correspondence with the illustrious Duke of ORMOND—his intimate friend through a long period of his life. Izaak WALTON was another dear friend, and the worthy mercer, who had so long inhabited narrow and dingy rooms in Fleet Street, passed some of his closing years, through MORLEY's friendship, in the new Palace of Wolvesey, and amidst the charming scenery of Hampshire. The gift of Walton's books grew out of that friendship; and as the owners were united in life, so what they prized as amongst life's best enjoyments, was also united, after death, for public benefit.

154. It is my hope that the present worthy Dean of Winchester, Dr. KITCHIN, and the able Librarian of the Chapter, Mr. MADGE, will before long see their way to obtain for a Cathedral Library which, though exceeded by many of its congeners in bare number of volumes, is exceeded by very few of them in the literary interest of its history, a more adequate income for the purchase of additional books. The fine old ones stand much in need of the companionship of some fine new ones.

When, some five years since [i. e. *circa* 1654?], I visited [the Cathedral of] WINCHESTER, it grieved me at the heart to behold that stately structure so far run to ruin; yea, my thoughts then interpreted those sad schisms and gaping chinks the heralds of its downfall. . . . . But it rejoiced me when coming there this last year to find it so well amended. . . . . I wish all Cathedrals in England . . . . as quick and happy a recovery.—THOMAS FULLER [1659].

PART THE FIRST.

THE LIBRARIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES;

WITH BRIEF NOTICES OF THE
LATER HISTORY OF SOME MEDIÆVAL LIBRARIES
WHICH SURVIVED UNTIL PRESENT, OR RECENT, TIMES;
AND ALSO OF SOME EXISTING MONASTIC LIBRARIES
OF LATER FOUNDATION.

"By the exercise of the pens of the scholars of the Middle Ages, fresh life has been imparted to intellectual creations of earlier days; works of great power and worth have been preserved, which still continue to instruct and to enchant the World. We may derive some consolation for the loss of much that has perished, by the reflection that if all the great works of Antiquity, in Literature, in Science, or in Art, had come down to us unimpaired, mankind, sated with their beauty, might have despaired of rivalling such perfection; and that the human race,—satisfied with its past achievements,—would have failed or faltered in its onward course. Happily for us, enough remains to stimulate the imaginative faculties, as well as to excite our emulation, in every branch of human knowledge, and thus to assist us . . . in running 'the race which is set before us.' The influences derived from these sources are of such depth and vitality as to endure through all vicissitudes; and to convince us that as the minds of the Past have moulded the Present, so those of the Present will, in like manner, mould the Future. . . . . The History of Literature, like that of Empire, is full of Revolutions. . . . . The dust accumulating . . . in our Public Libraries . . . . . upon untouched volumes, speaks as forcibly as the grass that waves over the ruins of Babylon."

—Botfield: *Præfationes et Epistolæ editioribus principibus Auctorum Veterum præpositæ* (1861), pp. lxxi., lxxii.

"When there exists—as in the tenth century there existed—a Government of spiritual ordonnance, ... it follows naturally that such a Government should seek to rule over temporal ordonnances, that it should say:—'Have I right, have I jurisdiction, over what is highest, 'over what is most independent, in man,—over his 'thoughts, his innermost will, his conscience; and have 'no right over his outward, material, transitory 'interests? I am the interpreter of Justice and of 'Truth, yet may not regulate man's worldly interests 'according to Justice and to Truth!' Arguing so, it followed naturally that the power spiritual should tend towards invading the power temporal. And the more so because, then, the spiritual power overlapped all possible developments of human thought. There was but one science—Theology. There was but one spiritual ordonnance—the theological ordonnance. All other sciences—Rhetoric, Arithmetic, even Music,—were but the ancillaries of Theology."

—Guizot: *Hist. générale de la Civilisation en Europe* (Leçon V.), pp. 154, 155.

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CHAPTER I.

The Libraries of the English Benedictines.

There are grand days at the outset of all great undertakings. But the mournful, the inevitable infirmity of human affairs will not let them continue. It is of moment to us all that they should never be forgotten; never be suffered to lack honourable memorial. They are the flowers of the spring-time of noble lives. During a thousand years, the Church of Canterbury has known glories elsewhere unparalleled. No Church in the World, save that of Rome, has been governed by a line of greater men; none has fought the Christian fight more nobly. But nothing in those splendid annals will ever eclipse the sweet and pure light of that humble cell, in which a little group of foreigners,—of Italian Monks,—under shelter of the homely hospitality of a genial-hearted King, and led beneath the auspices of the greatest of the Popes, set themselves by prayer, by fasting, and by toil, to the task of winning over the Ancestors of a great People to God, to virtue, and to truth.—Montalembert: *Les Moines d'Occident*, iii. 366 (1866).

"For ever hallowed be this morning fair,
Blest be the unconscious shore on which ye tread,
And blest the silver cross, which ye, instead
Of martial banner, in procession bear;
The cross preceding Him who floats in air,
The pictured Saviour!—By Augustin led,
They come,—and onward travel without dread,
Chanting in barbarous ears a tuneful prayer—
Sung for themselves, and those whom they would free!
Rich conquest waits them:—the tempestuous sea
Of Ignorance, that ran so rough and high,
And heeded not the voice of clashing swords,
These good men humble by a few bare words,
And calm with fear of God's divinity."
—Wordsworth: *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, Part I. xiv.

Mission of St. Augustine, A.D. 976.

If we accept the authority of the Canterbury Chartulary, preserved in Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Pope Gregory the Great must be regarded as the founder of the first English library, in virtue of those nine precious volumes which Augustine is said, either to have brought with him on his mission, or, more probably, to have received from St. Gregory by the hands of the monk

PETER, four years' later, with the second colony of Roman Missionaries: viz. 1, The *Holy Bible*, in two volumes; 2, the *Psalter;* 3, the *Gospels;* 4, another *Psalter;* 5, another copy of the *Gospels;* 6, the [Apocryphal] *Lives of the Apostles;* 7, the *Lives of the Martyrs;* 8, an *Exposition of the Gospels and Epistles.* "*Hæ sunt primitiæ librorum totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*," says the "Canterbury Book."[1]

"In the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and in the Bodleian, . . . two ancient MS. Gospels still exist which have at least a fair claim to be considered the very books which GREGORY sent to AUGUSTINE as marks of his good wishes to the rising Monastery, when 'LAURENCE and PETER' returned from Britain to Rome to tell him of the success of the Mission, and, from him, brought back these presents. They are, if so, the most ancient books that ever were read in England." . . . . . These books are, if I may so call them, the mother-books of England, the first beginning of English Literature, of English Learning, of English Education. But on this interesting point almost all is conjecture. No conclusive evidence can now be adduced.

Whether the books sent by St. AUGUSTINE were at first placed in the Library of Christ Church Monastery —now the Cathedral,—or in that of the Monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, best known as St. Augustine's,

1 This MS. is said by Mr. Hunter to have been written between 1430 and 1450. It was given with other MSS. to Trinity Hall by Robert Hare, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, on condition that if the Monastery should ever be restored, the books should return to it. Cf. SOAMES: *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, 45, *et seq.;* and *General Report of the Commissioners of the Public Records* (1837), c. 337.

beyond the walls, there is also now no quite clear and conclusive evidence.[1] They cannot be identified in HENRY de Estria's Christ Church Catalogue of the thirteenth century, entitled *Memoriale Henrici Prioris;* although there are of course many entries there of like books. They, or some of them are known to have been seen by LELAND, in the sixteenth century. The probability would seem to be that they were placed in St. Augustine's Library. And this is the opinion of the best authorities.

Monastery of Christ-Church, Canterbury.

The first important addition to this memorable beginning of our English Libraries which can now be traced, accrued, it is probable, to the Monastery of CHRIST CHURCH, when Archbishop THEODORE of Tarsus, who came from Rome to Canterbury in the year 668, brought with him what some of the annalists of Canterbury have ventured to call "an extensive library," considerable remains of which, according to LAMBARDE, were visible in Archbishop PARKER'S time:—"The Reverend Father Matthew, now Archbishop of Canterbury (whose care for the conservation of monuments can never be sufficiently commended), shewed me, not long since, the Psalter of David, and sundry Homilies in Greek, Homer, also, and some other Greek authors,

1 Dean Stanley, *Histor. Mem. of Canterbury*, p. 41 (6th Edit., 1872), adopts the opinion that they were placed at St. Augustine's, and he adds: "It was thus the Mother-School, the Mother-University of England, at a time when Cambridge was a desolation, and Oxford a tangled forest in a wide waste of water. They remind us that English power and English religion have, as from the very first, so ever since, gone along with knowledge, with learning, and especially with that learning and that knowledge which those old manuscripts give,—the knowledge and the learning of the Gospel." (p. 42). Cf. Humph. WANLEY: *Catal. of MSS.*, printed in HICKE'S *Thesaurus*, ii. 172, 173.

beautifully written on thick paper with the name of this THEODORE prefixed in the front, to whose library he reasonably thought (being thereto led by shew of great antiquity) that they sometime belonged."[1] Three hundred years later Archbishop ÆLFRIC gave large encouragement to the transcription of books, but bequeathed (A.D. 1006) his own collection to the Abbey of St. Albans. Five years after ÆLFRIC's death came the terrible sack of Canterbury by the Danes. Towards the end of this century LANFRANC restored the Library, and ANSELM followed in his footsteps; as did Archbishop WALTER at the beginning of the thirteenth century. "He gave," says DUGDALE, "the Church of Halgast, to find books for the Library."[2] Before the century closed, the then Prior of Christchurch, Henry EASTRY or de ESTRIA, was able to enumerate nearly three thousand titles in that curious catalogue of the collection which forms part of the Cotton MS. (Galba, E. iv.), entitled, *Memoriale Henrici Prioris Monasterii Christi Cantuariæ*.[3]

As respects the wealth of this collection in Theology, and in Patristic and Scholastic lore more especially, few words will here suffice. Its series of the Fathers is of remarkable extent. Still more notable is it to find that the several entries of Bibles, and of separate Books or groups of Books of the Bible, amount in the Catalogue before me to three hundred and twenty, exclusive of a

1 *Perambulation of Kent* (1576), 233.

2 *Monasticon* (Edit. of 1847), i. 85.

3 In the first Edition of *Memoirs of Libraries* (1859) I printed (as I have mentioned already, in the "General Introduction" to the present Edition,) this Catalogue from the original MS. at full, as an Appendix. It extends to 114 pages of small type.

very long list of Commentaries unaccompanied by the Text. And this fact is but one example of a very large series of similar and conclusive confutations of opinions still far too current amongst us—in many quarters—as to alleged monkish neglect of Holy Scripture. Some other examples I shall have the duty of adducing hereinafter.

But having regard to its date and to local circumstances, the CHRISTCHURCH Library may fairly be characterized as respectable in Science and rich in History; whilst of classic authors a long array will he found. Amongst them appear Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Lucan, Suetonius, Seneca, Terence, and Virgil. Cicero and Seneca, especially, appear to have been in high esteem, both from the number of works, and from the number of copies of the same work; some of them, perhaps (like the duplicate devotional books on page 133 of the MS.), provided for the free use of the monks in their cells, just as Bibles were provided for the special service of the Infirmary.

Monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury.

Of the Library of St. AUGUSTINE'S Monastery at Canterbury we have very little authentic information of earlier date than the later part of the fifteenth century. Of that date a Catalogue is still extant, which has found its way—probably through Archbishop USSHER—to Trinity College, Dublin; but it bears on its face no marks of the Library to which it relates, nor had anything been discovered as to its origin until the late eminent antiquary, Sir Frederick MADDEN, visited Dublin, and identified it with Canterbury. It is, in

many respects, one of the most interesting of English Monastic Catalogues.[1] The arrangement is in classes, but there is neither title nor heading.

In History the collection is fairly rich. It includes the works of Gildas, of John Bever, of Thomas Sprot, of Henry of Huntingdon, and of Willlam of Malmesbury; the *Cronica Albin*, the *Cronica Cestrensis*, and the *Narratio Petri Alfonsi*. Of Malmesbury and of Sprot there were no less than four copies severally. Of the Chester Chronicle there were three copies. The works of the Romance writers are also numerous; and, as usual, all of them are in French. The *Gesta Guidonis de Warewyk*, from its very frequent recurrence, appears to have been an especial favourite.

Some of the St. Augustine books here enumerated are still preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; others of them may be seen in the Library of the British Museum.

Monastery of Whitby.

When Oswy, King of Northumberland, founded (A.D. 656) the convent first called "Streoneshalh," and afterwards Whitby, he is said to have chosen the Lady Hilda for its first Abbess, from the fame of her holy life as a nun at Hartlepool. The interminable controversy about the celebration of Easter led, according to the monkish historians, to the introduction of Benedictine Monks into Streoneshalh; they being the firm adherents of the Roman doctrine, to which the Lady Abbess—"the best scholar of her age," some of her

1 Madden: *Ancient Monastic Libraries;* printed in *Notes and Queries;* Second Series, i. 485, 486.

admirers have called her,—was as firmly opposed. That to the best of her power she collected books and promoted learning, friends and foes are agreed. And there is an especial pleasure to an historian of Libraries in recording such testimony in honour of a woman, from its comparatively rare occurrence in the annals of his subject. CÆDMON was a monk of Streoneshalh. Like other Monasteries, it suffered all kinds of barbarity and outrage during several generations. The horrible story of the Nuns of Coldingham is but an example of atrocities which were common in the ninth and tenth centuries. Many Monasteries were utterly destroyed. Streoneshalh left scarcely a trace of what it had been.

It was by the zeal of the Monks of Evesham in Worcestershire, and by the liberality of William de PERCY, one of the companions of the Conqueror, that Whitby Abbey was restored. The restablished Community made quick progress, and became very wealthy.[1] Of its Library there is a catalogue, which appears to have been compiled about the year 1180. In classical literature, this catalogue includes Homer, Plato, Virgil, Cicero, Juvenal, Persius, Statius, Prudentius, and Sedulius. In Theology it includes (taking them in alphabetical order) SS. Ambrose, Basil, Bernard of Clairvaux, Cæsarius of Arles, Ephræm, Gregory the Great, Isidorus, and Prosper of Aquitaine; together with many works of Beda, of Hugh of St. Victor, of Ivo of

1 The charters and deeds of gift to Whitby fill the greater part of Charlton's History (York, 1779, 4°). See also, on the history of the Whitby Library, YOUNG: *Hist. of Whitby and Streoneshalh Abbey* (1817), pp. 918-920.

Chartres, of Origen, of Peter Lombard, and of Rabanus Maurus.

Monastery of Glastonbury.

Without vouching for the Abbacy of St. JOSEPH of Arimathea, or even for the tomb of King ARTHUR, we may fairly regard the noble Monastery of Glastonbury as perhaps the first, and certainly, in some respects, the greatest, of the monastic foundations of Britain. But there are no such traces of its early possession of books as would give it any claim to equality with the Monasteries of Canterbury or of York. The earliest mention even of an Evangeliary is, I suppose, that by WILLIAM of Malmesbury, when enumerating the plate, jewels, and precious ornaments of the Community.[1] JOHN of Taunton, who was Abbot from 1274 to 1290, appears to have been a considerable benefactor to the Library; but we see from the list, compiled in 1248 (which HEARNE has printed in the Appendix to the *Chronicle* of JOHN of Glastonbury), that it was already a considerable collection, thirty years before the rule of this Abbot began.

The Catalogue commences with no less than seven Bibles and Bible-histories, exclusive of Evangeliaries and detached Books of Holy Scripture. Then follows a large collection of the Fathers and of the mediæval controversialists. Of the chronicles and the romantic literature of the Middle Ages there is of course an abundant store. Amongst the ancient classics we find

1 GUL. MALMSB.: *De antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ*, apud Gale, *Scriptores* XV. pp. 291 *et seq.*

Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Livy, Sallust, and Claudian.

In the gift of Abbot JOHN, Biblical exposition fills a very large place. There are also several of those curious works of rudimentary physics which are characteristic of the age. In another list of works, transcribed by command of a later Abbot, we have Pliny's "*Historia Naturalis*," Isidore's "*Etymologicon;*" a large addition to the Patristic section of the Library; and some books of mediæval legendary or romantic history —*Gesta Britonum*, *Gesta Anglorum*, *Gesta Francorum;* and the like. There are evidences, also, of increased beauty of illustration and splendour of binding.

JOHN of Glastonbury records many other gifts which tend to show that for a long period the love of learning did not wax cold in this great Community. We can, therefore, the better appreciate the unusual fervour with which John LELAND records his emotions of surprise and admiration on visiting the Library and exploring its treasures, by permission of that unfortunate successor of the long line of mitred Abbots, Richard WHITING—*Homo sane candidissimus et amicus meus singularis*—as our antiquary calls him, not then foreseeing that a great change in WHITING's fortunes (there is no evidence of any change of character) would ere long prompt him, for his own safety, to draw his pen through the eulogy.

Scarcely had LELAND crossed the threshold of the Library, he tells us, when the sight of so many sacred remains of antiquity arrested his footsteps, as if by a

magical spell. Such a spectacle, he thought, could scarcely be seen elsewhere in Britain.[1]

Of all the glories of Glastonbury, there have been for many ages but few and mean vestiges. Eight generations have passed since DRAYTON,[2] addressing "the ancient isle of Avalon," lamented that "sad waste":—

O threetimes famous isle, where is that place that might
Be with thyself compar'd for glory and delight,
Whilst Glastonbury stood, exalted to that pride,
Whose Monastery seemed all others to deride?
O, who thy ruin sees, whom wonder doth not fill
With our great fathers' pomp, devotion, and their skill?
Thou more than mortal power (this judgment rightly weigh'd),
Then present to assist, at that foundation lay'd;
On whom, for this sad waste, should justice lay the crime?
Is there a power in fate, or doth it yield to time,
Or was their error such, that thou couldst not protect
Those buildings which thy hand did with their zeal erect?
To whom didst thou commit that monument to keep,
That suffereth with the dead their memory to sleep?
When not Great ARTHUR'S tomb, nor Holy JOSEPH'S grave,
From sacrilege had power their sacred bones to save,—
He who that GOD-in-man to his sepulchre brought,
Or he which for the faith twelve famous battles fought.

1 The passage as it is printed in the Commentaries, *de Scriptoribus Britannicis* (Hall's Edit., i. 41), runs thus:— . . . "Eram aliquot abhinc annis Glessoburgi Somurotrigum, ubi antiquissimum simul et famosissimum est totius insulæ nostræ cœnobium, animumque longo studiorum labore fessum, favente Richardo Whitingo ejusdem loci Abbate, ... recreabam; donec novus quidam cum legendi tum discendi ardor me inflammaret. Supervenit autem ardor ille citius opinione, itaque statim me contuli ad bibliothecam, non omnibus perviam, ut sacrosanctæ vetustatis reliquias, quarum tantus ibi numerus, quantus nullo alio facile Britanniæ loco, diligentissime evolverem. Vix certe limen intraveram, cum antiquissimorum librorum vel solus conspectus religionem, nescio an stuporem, animo incuteret meo; eaque de causa pedem paululum sistebam," &c. The deleted passage respecting Whiting I take from the MS. Bodl. Arch. A., as quoted in the *Monasticon*, i. 9.

2 *Poly-olbion*, The third song.

What! did so many kings do honour to that place
For avarice, at last, so vilely to deface?
For reverence to that seat which had ascribed been,
Trees yet in winter bloom and bear their summer's green.

Library of Croyland (f. 8th century).

Of the Library of the great Monastery at Croyland we have many particulars in the Chronicle of the pseudo-INGULPHUS,—a writer so popular, that in addition to his intentional readers he has had not a few unconscious ones. Archæologists, encyclopedists, and epitomizers of all kinds, have laid the fictitious INGULPH freely under contribution. Whosoever may have been the true author of the Croyland Annals, it can hardly be matter of question that they embody much authentic history. A great deal more may be said for the main substance of the narrative than for the charters which accompany it.

ETHELBALD is recorded to have founded Croyland early in the eighth century. For several generations it had as tempestuous a life as any Monastery in England. EGELRIC, the second Abbot of his name, appears to have been the first considerable giver of books towards a library. About the year 990 he is chronicled to have presented forty "integral" volumes *(Volumina originalia)* of various authors, and more than a hundred lesser volumes, containing various tracts and compilations. Within another century the Library had so increased that it numbered more than three hundred volumes, together with about four hundred tracts and minor pieces; all of which perished in the disastrous fire of 1091. "In our charter room," adds the pseudonymous chronicler, ... "we found that although the

boxes appeared to be safe and uninjured, yet all the muniments contained in them had been shrivelled up and burnt to ashes by the excessive heat. The privileges conferred by the Mercian Kings, with their gilded pictures, . . . were all burnt, . . . in one black night."

Much energy was shewn in the second restoration of the noble edifice of Croyland, but it does not seem to have extended to the Library. On this head but little is recorded. When LELAND made his tour amidst the monastic ruins, he noted but these six books:—Rogerus Dymmoc *adversus Wyclefium;* Waleys *super Psalterium;* Robertus Trembley *super Cantica Canticorum;* Fulcherii *Historia;* Turpini *Historia; Historia de Ricardo Rege, carmina scripta.*

Monastery of Peterborough.

Of Peterborough there is yet extant one of the best of the Monastic Catalogues which have survived. The history of this Abbey has many points of resemblance with that of Croyland, and it rests on much better authority. It suffered as severely from the ravages of the Danes; but when those times were past its fortunes were more prosperous. During the tenth and eleventh centuries many gifts of precious books are chronicled. In the twelfth, we have a list of nearly eighty works transcribed for the Library by order of Abbot BENEDICT, formerly Prior of Canterbury, and Secretary to Thomas à BECKET. It comprises twenty-one Biblical volumes. The scientific works and tracts, if reckoned separately, would probably be about twenty. The classical authors are only four in number.

The Catalogue printed by GUNTON[1] is undated, but may be conjectured to be of the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. It commences: *Matricularium Librariæ Monasterii Burgi Sancti Petri, paucis libris non examinatis.* It is not arranged under classes, but apparently follows the position of the books on their shelves. As is usual in Monastic Catalogues, a very large majority of the volumes contain several distinct works, and these are bound up with little or no regard to the subjects of which they treat. The number of these separate works is one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, which appear to have been bound in three hundred and forty-four volumes. The collection is strong in ecclesiastical history. The number of books and tracts in verse is unusually large, and of these a considerable proportion is in French or other modern languages. The chief classic authors that occur are: Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, Seneca, Statius, Persius, Sallust, and Ovid. The number of entries under Ovid is much larger than that under any other classic author; and there are other indications that the subjects of which OVID was more especially a master were by no means tabooed in the studies of Peterborough.

Monastery of Durham.

To the bibliographical zeal for which the late estimable and regretted Mr. Beriah BOTFIELD, M.P., was so

1 *History of the Church of Peterborough* (London, 1686, fol.) The Catalogue was reprinted in the Leipsic Journal *Serapeum.*

eminently distinguished,[1] we owe the publication of the very interesting series of catalogues of the great Monastery of Durham, which form one of the Surtees volumes. Like too many valuable publications similarly issued by book-clubs, this volume is less known than it deserves to be.

In its first rudiments the Durham Library is coeval with the Community to which it belonged. When the Monks who had originally been seated at Lindisfarne were forced for the second time to seek a new home, they brought with them some choice books, and a love of learning which was to prove especially characteristic of the Durham fraternity at nearly all periods of its existence.

The Catalogues which Mr. BOTFIELD has collected may be thus enumerated: (1,) A catalogue of the general collection of the Community, undated; (2,) A catalogue, in two parts, of the books contained in the "Spendimentum," or Chancery, in the year 1391; (3,) A catalogue of the general collection of the Community *(in Communi armariolo Dunelmensi, in diversis locis infra claustrum)* in 1395; (4,) Lists of books sent, on two several occasions, to Durham College, Oxford, in or about the year 1409; (5,) A list of books purchased in replacement of those thus drafted off; (6,) A list of books used in the Refectory during the hour of dinner; (7,) A catalogue of the books in the Chancery, as they

1 One of his latest and unfulfilled plans of useful labour was that of reprinting that remarkable Christ-Church Catalogue, A.D. 1315, (mentioned on page 7 of this chapter,) which is in itself so conclusive and so compact a refutation of the oft-repeated slander of Monks as enemies to the study of the HOLY BIBLE.

were in 1416. These are the principal documents, but appended to them are notices of various legacies of books made to the Community at different periods, between the year 1093 and the dissolution.

As usual, Patristic literature is a prominent feature of the Durham Library. Of the Greek Fathers (although none appear save in their Latin versions) there is a more than ordinary number. Of the Holy Scriptures, in the Vulgate, there are several entire copies, and a multitude of portions and of separate Books. Amongst the ecclesiastical historians are Eusebius and Beda—(several copies of each are entered)—and even a larger array than usual of the monkish chroniclers and of the legendary biographers of the Saints. Of canon law, and of the casuistical divinity of the Schoolmen, there is an extensive collection.

The chief Classics to be found in the Durham Catalogues are the metaphysical and ethical works of Aristotle; the rhetorical treatises and orations of Cicero; the Institutes and Declamations of Quintilian; the historical works of Valerius Maximus, Quintus Curtius, Sallust, Eutropius, and Suetonius; and, of the poets, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Terence, Juvenal, Claudian, Lucan, and Statius. Under "Oratius" there are three entries; under "Juvenalis" four; under "Virgilius" nine; under "Ovidius" and "Ovidus Magnus" twelve.

Of the versifiers of the middle ages there was a large collection, but not one metrical *romance* occurs in the early catalogues. Two such are mentioned in RUDD's Catalogue of 1727 (printed by the Dean and Chapter, a century later), both of which have been preserved in

the Cathedral Library, where may also be seen that precious Evangeliary, believed to have been transcribed by the hand of BEDA, and thus entered in the Catalogue of 1391: "D. Quatuor Evangelia, de manu Bedæ, ii. fol., '*Baptizatus.*'" The priceless "Gospels of St. CUTHBERT"—one of the volumes brought from Lindisfarne, amidst the perils so quaintly recounted by SIMEON of Durham—has long been pre-eminent among the show-books of the British Museum.

Many other Benedictine Monasteries of England possessed noticeable libraries, of which no mention has here been made. Indeed, there is scarcely any recorded Community of that Order without some claim to attention, at one period or other of its history, for its love and care of books. But enough has been said for the illustration of this section of a subject, which is far too wide to be treated in these pages otherwise than by mere examples. The history of English Monastic Libraries is so full of instruction, and has so keen an interest for the true book-lover, of any period, that he will be tempted to linger over each section of it somewhat overweeningly. But this may be said in his extenuation:—To the present day, England possesses no worthy history of her Monastic Communities. Their mere bibliography is but a small feature of a grand retrospect. Their true history, told with reasonable fulness, would be also a history of the beginnings of agriculture,—of horticulture,—of forest-craft,—of manufactures,—of practical science,—and of

the plastic arts, amongst us. It would also be the history of much of our early social polity,—of our nascent civilisation and Christianization. It would be the earliest page in the grand history of our ENGLISH BIBLE. Robert SOUTHEY planned such a work, and carried,—well mapped-out in his mind,—its true "form and pressure." England gave him three hundred pounds a year,—and offered him a baronetcy. Had it given five or six hundred, instead of three,—he would have been freed from the burden of task-work, and his country would have possessed one enduring literary glory the more.

CHAPTER II.

The Libraries of the German, Flemish, and Swiss Benedictines.

A copy of Ambrose *De bono mortis*, covered with the blood of Boniface, was exhibited during many succeeding centuries at Fulda as a relic. It was contemplated there by many who regarded as superstitious and heretical some of the tenets of Boniface. But no Christian, whatever might be his own peculiar creed, ever looked upon that blood-stained memorial of him without the profoundest veneration.

For, since the Apostolic age, no greater benefactor of our race has arisen among men than the Monk of Nutsall, unless it be that other Monk of Wittemberg, who, at the distance of seven centuries, appeared to reform and reconstruct the Churches founded by the holy Benedictine. To Boniface, the North and West of Germany and Holland still look back as their spiritual progenitor; nor did any uninspired man ever add to the permanent dominion of the Gospel provinces of such extent and value.—Stephen: *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, I. 375.

Mission of Boniface, the civilizer of Northern Germany.

To this day the traveller in Northern Germany is frequently reminded of the good deeds of the Monk who, in his remote Hampshire cell, mused on the stories which were told him of the barbarous condition of the Frisian and Hessian Pagans, until he resolved, with God's blessing, to be to them the messenger of good tidings; and who persisted in his missionary enterprize, though war seemed to close the door against it abroad, and an abbacy awaited his acceptance at home. Many a ruin is pointed out as all that remains of a noble monastery, once the centre of Christian civilisation to the surrounding district.

Of the large group of monastic communities which owed their foundation to Boniface and to his immediate disciples, many became famous in succeeding ages, and

some retained their celebrity for very long periods. Fulda was pre-eminent. Before the close of the eighth century it is said to have contained four hundred Monks, exclusive of novices. It attained distinction as a seat of learning under RABANUS Maurus, who, as we have seen already, had studied under ALCUIN, and who governed Fulda for twenty years with the energy and piety which he afterwards displayed more conspicuously on the archiepiscopal throne of Mentz. Hirschau was an off-shoot of Fulda, and became itself the cradle of that restoration of monastic discipline in Germany, which seems to have been almost as urgently needed at the close of the eleventh century, as at the close of the fifteenth.

FULDA.

Library of Corvey. About 820.)

Corvey, too (*Corbeia Nova*, in Westphalia;—the old and paternal *Corbeia* was in Picardy, and its Library will receive some notice in the next chapter,) stands very saliently out amongst the great Monasteries of Northern Germany for its care of learning. Of its early history it is enough to say, that it exhibits a civilizing influence gradually diffused throughout Lower Saxony, resembling that which spread from Fulda throughout Thuringia. The precise year of its foundation is uncertain, but may be placed by near approximation about the year 820.[1] The old Chronicler DITHMAR calls it the "Head and Mother of [the neighbouring] Communities; the ornament of the fatherland;

1 In 822, according to the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, iv. 232; comp. ZIEGELBAUER: *Historia rei litterariæ ordinis S. Benedicti*, ubi supra.

and a marvel of Saxony and of all Germany."[2] It was the training-place of men whose names, after the lapse of so many centuries, are yet most worthily held in honour, and some of whom deserve to rank as the foremost organizers of the mediæval Church, not in Germany alone, but in the countries round about.

Early gifts to Corvey Library.

Amongst the incidental notices of the gradual formation of the Library that occur in those *Annales Antiqui Corbeienses* which LEIBNITZ has printed in the second volume of his *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium*, I find commemorations of many gifts bestowed on it, as well by the liberality of strangers as by the zeal of the Abbots. Those of JOHN of Montorp, and of ALBERT of Hombach, in the eleventh century, and of HILDEBOLT of Beven, and the Count of SCHAUMBERG, in the fourteenth, are especially noticeable. Of the first named donor it is recorded: . . . . *librum in folio Arabicum è Pannonia allatum intulit Bibliothecæ nostræ*; and of the last: *Comes de Schaumberg . . . . . Colloquium suum habuerunt in monasterio. Inter alia quisque utilem librum donavit Bibliothecæ.*

Towards the close of the eleventh century, MARCHWART, then Abbot, enacted that every novice on making his profession should give a book (. . . *ut quivis novitius in die professionis suæ etiam librum donaret Bibliothecæ utilem et alicujus pretii*); and it seems that this regulation may have greatly contributed to that compara-

2 "Haupt und Mutter aller übrigen Klöster, des ganzen Vaterlandes Zierde, und ein Wunderwerk Sachsens und des ganzen Deutschen Landes." —Dithmar, as quoted by Schönemann, *Zur Geschichte der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel;* in the *Serapeum*, xviii. 66. Comp. *Annales antiqui Corbeienses*, apud Liebnitium, *Script. rerum Brunsvicensium*, tom. ii.

tively rapid growth of its Library, for which Corvey is conspicuous.[1]

No small portion of the literary fame of Corvey rests on the often repeated anecdote, that the first five books of the Annals of Tacitus were found there—by Giovanni Angelo ARCIMBOLDI,[2] according to the usual account,—and were brought thence to Pope LEO X. Of the many extant notices of this incident, that of the elder H. MEIBOMIUS, which includes the testimony of LIPSIUS, may here suffice:—*Imò Corbeia Saxonica*, he writes, *rempublicam literariam digno beneficio affecit conservans insigni omnium prædicatione quinque priores Annalium* Cornelii Taciti *libros, quâ de re hoc scribit* Justus Lipsius, *ad librum secundum Annalium* Taciti: "*Quinque hi priores libri inventi sunt Corbeiæ, quod Monasterium ad Visnegrum est, atque illum depromptum vere hinc thesaurum Quæstor quidam Ponti-*

1 Be this as it may, the testimony as to the existence of the regulation in question at Corvey is sufficient to clear it from the objection taken by the learned authors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France* to a nearly similar allegation in respect of the Abbey of Fleury.

2 Arcimboldi (who afterwards became Archbishop of Milan) had been sent into Germany in 1514 by Leo X. Leo entrusted the MS. to the younger Philippus Beroaldus, and in the brief which conferred on him an exclusive copyright in it for ten years, he says that the security and extension of literary studies "seem chiefly to depend on two circumstances,—the number of men of learning, and the ample supply of excellent authors. As to the first of these, we hope with the divine blessing to shew still more evidently our earnest desire and disposition to reward and to honour their merits; this having been for a long time past our chief delight and pleasure. With respect to the acquisition of books, we return our thanks to God, that in this also an opportunity is now afforded us of promoting the advantage of mankind." *Leonis X. Bulla; Taciti Op.* a Beroaldo præf. (Rom. 1515), as quoted by Roscoe, *Life of Leo X.*, ii. 392, 393.

ficius ad Magnum Leonem *(nempe* X.*) detulit donatus ab eo aureis quingentis.*[1]

It has been contended by some estimable writers that the MS. did *not* come from Corvey, in the face of the statement which occurs in the Briefs addressed by LEO X. to ALBERT, Archbishop of Mentz and of Magdeburg, two years after the publication by BEROALDUS. Those Briefs were issued in the hope that the example of the benefit which had accrued to the Monks of Corvey, would induce certain other Monks, who were supposed to possess a complete *Livy*, if not to part with their precious treasure, at least to lend it to the Pope for publication. The Briefs were first printed by BAYLE,[2] to whom they were communicated by the Prussian Councillor von SEIDEL. Whilst they thus confirm the ordinary statement, that the Tacitus MS. came from Corvey, they correct it very importantly as to the manner in which the book was obtained.

The first Brief recites generally the Pope's care for the discovery and preservation of ancient authors, and the absence of any selfish or concealed purpose in the pursuit; the second clinches the argument thus:—*Tantum ad commodum et utilitatem virorum eruditorum tendimus; de quo etiam dilecti filii Abbas et Conventus Monasterii Corwiensis Ordinis S. Benedicti Padebornensis diœceseos nostri locupletissimi possunt esse testes, ex quorum bibliotheca cum primi quinque libri Historiæ*

1 Meibomius ("agens de MSS. Codicibus quibusdam Bibliothecæ hujus Monasterii"), as quoted by Ziegelbauer, *Historia rei litterariæ Ordinis S. Benedicti*, ubi supra.

2 *Dictionnaire*, sub voce "*Léon X.*"

Augustæ Cornelii Taciti *qui desiderabantur*, furto subtracti fuissent, illique per multas manus ad nostras tandem pervenissent, *nos recognitos prios eosdem quinque libros et correctos a viris prædictis in nostra curia existentibus, cum aliis* Cornelii *prædicti operibus quæ extabant nostro sumptu imprimis fecimus. Deinde vero*, re comperta, *unum ex voluminibus dicti* Cornelii *ut præmittitur*, correctum et impressum ac etiam non inordinate ligatum, *ad dictos Abbatem et Conventum Corwiensis remisimus quod in eorem bibliotheca loco substracti reponere possent. Et ut cognoscerent ex ea substractione potius est commodum quam incommodum ortum, misimus eisdem pro Ecclesia Monasterii eorum indulgentiam perpetuam.*

However much the modern collector may incline to differ from His Holiness as to the amplitude of that compensation which substituted for so precious a manuscript a fine specimen of printing, and a perpetual indulgence, the letter shews that the history of the volume was keenly enquired into, and that the evidence which affiliated it upon Corvey satisfied Leo. Of course, the . . *per multas manus ad nostras tandem pervenissent* . . opens a vista of possible mistake, and the conjecture that the MS. came from Fulda,[1] not from Corvey, may, after all, be well founded.

Corvey, like its neighbours, suffered severely in the wars which accompanied the Reformation, and some of its spoils found refuge in the Library of Wolfenbuttel.[2]

1 Massman, in the *Jahrbücher für wissensch. Kritik* (1841), ii. 701.

2 Hermann, in the *Serapeum*, iii. 98.

It continued to subsist, however, and to possess a considerable Library, almost until our own day. Early in the present century the Monastery was secularized, and it was on that occasion that the transcript of its Catalogue was prepared, to which attention has now to be directed. After the peace of Tilsit, all Hesse-Cassel, it will be remembered, became part of the Kingdom of Westphalia. King JEROME's government, in 1811, made a present of what then remained of the Corvey collection to the University of Marburg, not, according to Dr. HERMANN, without exciting some displeasure on the part of HEYNE of Göttingen, who made the Marburg men a little sore by expressing his wonder if any use could possibly be made of the books there!

Of the remnant of the Corvey Library as it was in the last century, we have a Catalogue, partly transcribed, partly drawn up by Dr. HERMANN (and printed in the years 1838-1841). It is chiefly notable for a considerable series of works on physical science and on the scholastic philosophy. The theological works are also numerous, but there is little of earlier date than the beginning of the fourteenth century. Amongst the works that possess exceptional antiquity and interest is (1,) an ancient Latin *Evangeliary*, written in uncials, on vellum, and richly illuminated; remarkable also for the elaborate carvings on its cover; (2,) A translation of the *Gospels* into German, partly of the eleventh and partly of the twelfth century (according to HERMANN); (3,) A collection of the *Letters* of Pope NICHOLAS I., apparently of contemporaneous scription, or nearly so. There also

appear in this eighteenth-century Catalogue several historical works of recent date, which are of value for the ecclesiastical annals of Germany. The one hundred and nine volumes which are enumerated in the Catalogue contain, it is probable, nearly five hundred separate works; so large is the number of tract volumes in the collection. But of the whole 109 bound volumes, only twenty-five reached Marburg, by the gift of the Westphalian government.[1]

Of the noble buildings of the Abbey, enough yet remains to make the princely family, which has its residence there, appear almost buried amidst them. But many generations must pass away before the memories of Corvey will cease to excite the curiosity of every traveller, having intelligence enough to know that even the darkest of the "Dark Ages" had their enlightened and heroic men, who left the world much the better that they had lived in it.

Library of Reichenau. (*f.* 724.)

The Benedictine Abbey of *Reichenau*—finely seated on an island in that broad part of the Rhine which is rather lake than river—dates from the year 724, and appears to have possessed the beginnings of a Library at an early period in its annals. These, in the course of the ninth century, grew into a collection of considerable importance, as is shewn by four several catalogues, written between the years 820 and 850, all of which have been printed by NEUGART.[2] The first of

1 *Serapeum*, iii. 99-110.

2 *Episcopatus Constantiensis Alemannicus*, i. 536-544. (Vogel, in *Serapeum*, iii. 7.)

them is a general list of the books which were contained in the Library in the year 822; the second and third are lists of works transcribed under the rule of two successive Abbots; the fourth is a catalogue of additions to the Library, acquired, during a period of fifty-five years, partly by transcription and partly by gift. Among the more noticeable books included in these lists, are the historical works of Josephus, of Eusebius, of Orosius, of Jerome, of Cassiodorus, of Beda, of Gregory (of Tours); the *Vita et gesta Caroli Imp. Augusti;* five books *Historiarum gentis Winilorum;* a work entitled, *Sex a mundi principio ætates usque hactenus, postea Karoli majoris domus Francorum, Pipini senioris ac filii ejusdem Karoli, et Pipini et Karle filiorum Karoli, deinde postquam Pipinus ad regem elevatus est, postea Karoli regis, deinceps gesta Hludovici regis ac imp. ad extremum quædam decreta adversantia.* The chronological and geographical works are numerous. Of the ancient poets we find *Virgilii Georgicon libri* iii., and *Æneidos libri* vi.; and of the Christian poets a long series, including Juvencus, Sedulius, Fortunatus, Dracontius, and Aldhelm. Among the scientific and encyclopædical authors are Pliny, Galen, Vegetius, Vitruvius, and Boethius; and among the grammarians, Priscian, Caper, and Isidorus. Lastly, may be mentioned (in the class "Jurisprudence"), *Lex Salica*, *Lex Alemannica*, *Lex Ripuaria*, *Lex Longobardica;* and the *Capitularia Caroli Magni*, *Pipini*, and *Ludovici.*[1] Of

1 I abridge this enumeration from the able essay of Vogel, *Die Bibliothek der Bened. Abtei Reichenau,* founded on Schonhuth's *Chronik des ehemaligen Klosters Reichenau: ein Beitrag zur Schwäbischen Geschichte aus handschriftl. Quellen dargestellt.* Freib. 1836, 8°, (Serap. iii. 1-14).

the theological department—rich, as were all the great Benedictine Libraries, in Patristic works—it can scarcely be necessary to speak in detail.

For about a century and a half the collection seems to have been both preserved and increased. But as in the year 1006 Reichenau suffered severely by fire, that frequent and terrible foe of monastic possessions; so, for several successive generations, its Community fell into that too frequent slough of avarice, contention, and apathy, which have always, at intervals, been the foes, more destructive than fire, of the monastic virtues.

Until nearly the middle of the fifteenth century, the chroniclers of Reichenau have to tell of little more than its accelerating debasement. There is then a temporary gleam of prosperity, under the restoring and energetic rule of FREDERICK of Wartenberg, who was Abbot from 1428 to 1453, and who signalized his government by great zeal and liberality towards the Library. But his successors did not emulate his example. Internal and prolonged neglect had begun the work of dilapidation, long before the atrocities of the Thirty Years' War came to assist it. What has survived of this once famous collection is to be found, partly in the University Library of Heidelberg, and partly in the Ducal Library of Carlsruhe.[1] One solitary missal of the tenth century—in company with a ciborium, a cope, and a

1 *Catalogus librorum Manuscriptorum quos Fridericus ab Wartenberg Abbas a Dom. Marchione de Rotal, fratre Episcopi Ottonis III. Episcopi Constantiensis, emit, et in Bibliothecam Monasterii Augiensis reposuit.* (ZIEGELBAUER: *Historia rei literariæ Ordinis S. Benedicti*, i. 573; SCHONHUTH: *Chronik*, ut sup., [as quoted by Vogel, *Serap.* iii. 11,] 256-258); PETZHOLDT: *Handbuch deutscher Bibliotheken*, 205.

crozier—is still, I believe, shewn to the "Pilgrims of the Rhine" amidst the ruins of Reichenau.[1]

Library of St. Gall. (f. about 820.)

At several points of their respective histories, there are links of connection between Reichenau and St. Gall, of a closer sort than those which unite, more or less directly, so many of the Monasteries of mediæval times. The fate of their Libraries, however, has been different. There remains very much of the old collection of St. Gall, to attract and to gratify the student of mediæval literature.

The Abbot GOZBERT may be regarded as the founder of one of the few Libraries which can point in their annals to the celebration of a millennial jubilee. He ruled the Community from 816 to 836, and of his zeal for the Library it is recorded: . . *Primus eam instruxit, neglectam antea ac prope nullum librorum usu habitam.* . . . Of about four hundred volumes collected by this Abbot, a contemporary catalogue is still extant. It is also stated, that he set apart for the books a room above the Scriptorium. The collection thus begun, grew rapidly, as well by remarkable industry in transcription, as by numerous gifts from successive Abbots, Monks, and pupils.

The existing Library possesses a considerable series of precious Manuscripts written by Irish and Scottish Monks, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. They include copies of *The Gospels*, of great beauty; several of the works of BEDA; many tracts on ecclesiastical

1 MURRAY: *Northern Germany* (11th Edit.), 555.

history; and some fragments of *Liturgies* of the ninth century. Of the scription and illumination of the biblical and liturgical books, a series of transcripts was made (about the year 1835) for the late Mr. PURTON-COOPER. The miniatures possess great value for the history of Art; and may be seen in the appendices to his very valuable, although unfinished,[1] "*Report on the* Fœdera."

Here, also, are two Runic[1] Alphabets, which Gustav HAENEL has assigned to the ninth century; Wilhelm GRIMM to the tenth.[2] They are of special interest, as being of Anglo-Saxon origin. When first discovered, they were almost illegible, through age and neglect. The chemical ingenuity of VON ARX[3] restored them to legibility.

In the tenth century, the invasion of the Huns necessitated the hasty removal of the books to Reichenau (as a place of comparative safety, on account of its insular position), whence they were not brought back without some losses. Even thus early, the Library of St. Gall could boast not only of Greek, but even of Hebrew MSS.; and it is hinted by the historian of the Community, that some of these treasures so sorely tempted the brethren at Reichenau to break at least the tenth commandment, as to lead to some mistakes of identity

1 "Barbara fraxineis pingata *rhuna* tabellis;
Quodque papyrus agit, virgula plana valet."

"Abruna" in early German (corrupted by Tacitus, *Germania*, c. viii., into "Aurinia")=witch, or female magician.

2 GRIMM: *Ueber deutsche Runen* (Goett. 1821), p. 126.

3 PERTZ: *Reisen*, p. 462.

when the books had to be returned; the number of volumes being right enough, but their contents not in exact agreement with the original catalogue.

Whatever may have been the extent of the injury thus occasioned, other and more grievous losses quickly followed. For a while they were compensated, in some degree, by increased activity in the Scriptorium, especially under the rule of the Abbot BURCHARD II., at the commencement of the eleventh century, from which period are to be dated some of the most precious treasures which still adorn the Library of St. Gall. Nor was transcription the only form taken by the literary activity of the Monks in the best days of this famous fraternity. They translated many portions of Holy Scripture into vernacular dialects. WEIDMANN, its keeper and historian, regards the first four centuries of its annals (830—1200) as the *golden;* the fifth (1200—1300) as the *iron;* and the sixth and part of the seventh (1300—1463) as the *leaden* eras.

In the thirteenth century the Community had enemies enough out of doors, but its worst foes were those of its own house. At that time the turbulence of its dignitaries was only equalled by their ignorance. Then came the famous Council of Constance, with its perilous levies on all the Monastic Libraries that were within reach; and in the case of St. Gall, it seems not improbable that some of the volumes which it lost, went again towards the enrichment of its neighbours. The fifteenth century was marked by the memorable researches of POGGIO BRACCIOLINI.

The amiable English biographer of POGGIO has observed, that "the expense occasioned by these literary excursions was a heavy incumbrance" upon one "whose property could by no means bear any extraordinary diminution."

But it seems highly probable that, in this instance at all events, the compassion is a little misplaced. POGGIO regarded literary researches in Monastic Libraries as a species of war, which ought, naturally, to be carried on at the enemy's cost. His countrymen have loudly celebrated his "discovery" of *Quintilian*, but they make no mention of the "two waggons" which (if we may trust the monkish chronicle) he had to procure, in order to carry off his spoils. The incident, and what it involves, if true, are of course much more discreditable to the Monks than to their visitor. But it gives a different colour to POGGIO'S account of what he saw, as well as to Dr. SHEPHERD'S compassionate and charitable allusion to the slenderness of his resources. There is sufficient evidence that he knew how to turn his discoveries to profitable account,—in more senses than one.

Poggio's discoveries in the Library of St. Gall.

In a letter addressed to GUARINO Veronese (16th Dec., 1416), he narrates his visit to St. Gall in company with some friends. They found, he says, a large number of MSS., and among them a complete copy of Quintilian, "safe and sound, but buried in rubbish and dust," in the lowest room or dungeon of a tower, "unfit even for the residence of condemned criminals." Besides Quintilian, they found there the first three books and part of the fourth book of the "*Argonautics*" of VALERIUS FLACCUS, and the Commentary of ASCONIUS PEDIANUS on

eight of CICERO's Orations.[1] These are all that are specifically mentioned, but they were probably only a small portion of POGGIO's windfalls.

With the rule of Abbot ULRICH VIII. (1463-1491) a period of renewed literary activity dawned upon St. Gall.[2] It again acquired scholastic fame, and again suffered eclipse in the stormy times which followed. And it became especially notable for the possession of a considerable number of books and tracts in various vernacular dialects, both of Romance and of Teutonic families. Some of these may still be identified, and they combine linguistic with historic interest.

The modern history of the Library of St. Gall belongs to a subsequent section of these *Memoirs*. But it may here be added that its contents were officially reported in 1881 to include about 41,700 volumes of printed books, of which 1700 are *incunabula;* and 1800 Manuscripts. It is made publicly accessible. There is a printed Catalogue of the Manuscripts and of the *incunabula*.[3]

1 Poggio's letter is in the Wolfenbuttel Library, and it has been printed in *Poggiana* (iii. 309), but I cannot now refer to it otherwise than as it is reported, at second hand, by Tiraboschi: "Tra una grandissima copia di libri dic' egli che lungo sarebbe l'annoverare trovammo un Quintiliano, ancor sano e salvo, ma pien di polvere e d'immondezza, perciocchè eran que libri nella biblioteca non com' il loro onor richedeva, ma sepolti in una oscura e tetra prigione, cioè nel fondo di una torre in cui non si getterebbon nemmeno idannati a morte."—TIRABOSCHI: *Storia del literatura Italiana*, vi. 121.

2 WEIDMANN: *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St. Gallen, aus den Quellen bearbeitet, auf tausendjährige Jubelfeier.* A good epitome of the history of this Library, founded on Weidmann's book, will be found in *Scrapeum*, iii. 113.

3 TEDDER AND THOMAS: art. "Libraries," in *Encyc. Brittanica*, 9th Edit., xiv. 54 (1882).

Library of Sponheim (founded 1124).

The Library of the Abbey of Sponheim was probably founded in 1124, but acquired its chief celebrity under the government of John TRITHEIM, who was Abbot from 1483 to 1505, and whose Chronicle of his Community is widely known, and in its main substance well authenticated. For about a century from the foundation, there are frequent records in the *Chronicon Sponheimense* of the care of the Superiors to collect books, and of the industry of the brethren in their transcription. But, as usual, this period is followed by one of the opposite character, and of longer duration, in which the interests of literature, in common with interests still more important, were neglected. An incident that stands recorded of a certain Abbot GOBELIN—nineteenth in succession—throws a gleam of light on the corruptions of this decadent period, and discloses to us the impunity with which a worthless monk, with a lawless baron at his back, could flout a general Council. This worthy not only preferred to live on the outside of his Monastery, but for purposes of his own stripped it of its title deeds, and of many other MSS., refusing to restore them even at the demand of the Council of Basel. Thirty years after his death, some of the charters were recovered from his castle, but the book MSS. had vanished. At this time (1469) the contents of the Library at Sponheim had, it is said, dwindled to ten volumes.

Regeneration of the Community of Sponheim by Tritheim.

Under circumstances like these, Abbot TRITHEIM, fourteen years afterwards, began his regenerating labours. He had to struggle with a Community which, notwithstanding some new and purer blood, transfused into it

from Mentz, was still ignorant and poverty stricken (in a different sense from that of pristine monachism, for it was overburdened with debt), although it may have ceased to be openly dissolute. With the new Abbot, study was the prime necessity of life. His views as to the connection between the right cultivation of theological science, and the ancillary pursuit of secular acquirements, were large and vigorous. The very embarrassments of the Community in respect of finance became a spur to the labours of the Scriptorium. If books could be rarely bought, they must be the more assiduously borrowed and transcribed. The new art of printing, too, was making rapid strides, and often enabled TRITHEIM to obtain precious but neglected manuscripts from other convents, in exchange for printed books of a more popular and current sort. In this way it sometimes chanced that he saved from imminent risk of destruction choice codices, which are now among the prized treasures of our modern Libraries. Italy and Greece, as well as all parts of Germany, were laid under contribution, and scarcely any language then known to literature was unrepresented in the collection which TRITHEIM had at length amassed.

Growth of the Sponheim Library.

From several passages in his correspondence and in his *Nepiachus*,[1] it appears that before his retirement the Sponheim Library contained—in place of the fourteen volumes he found there—more than two thousand volumes, of which the majority were MSS. Of Greek

1 E. g. *Epistolæ familiares*, l. i. 420; 502; l. ii. 508, 513; 548; 556; 559 (Vogel, in *Serapeum*, iii. 323), and *Nepiachus*, 1828.

MSS. alone, there were upwards of an hundred. Unhappily, no catalogue of the collection is now extant. We know that in the year 1502 the Abbot himself undertook the preparation of one, which appears to have been classed according to languages, and to have comprised 1646 volumes. The contemporary allusions to the Library are numerous, and they sometimes mention specifically certain works which it contained. There is also a fragmentary list of some of the Greek codices, but it includes only forty of them in number.[1]

The early celebrity of the Sponheim collection was probably enhanced by its reverses. In 1504, when WILLIAM of Hesse carried fire and sword through the Palatinate, it had to be hastily removed to Creuznach, and scarcely had the restoration of peace permitted its return, when internal discord and disaffection towards the Abbot began to arise in the Community for which he had laboured so assiduously, and were fanned into a flame by the ambitious projects of some of its members. Illness, and the temporary absence it had occasioned, rendered TRITHEIM less able to cope with his rebellious Monks; and eventually he determined to resign his dignity, and retire to a small Abbey at Würzburg. This retirement took place in 1506, and lasted until TRITHEIM'S death, ten years afterwards.[2] To his dying

1 Busæus has printed it in the *Paralipomena Opusculorum Petri Blesensis et Jo. Trithemii aliorumque, nuper in typographeo Moguntino editorum a Jo. Busæo*, 777-794.

2 How severely these mortifications were felt is abundantly shewn in his published correspondence. At one time he is so depressed in mind as to contemn what in his better days had been his glory:—"Magno fateor bibliothecæ quondam tenebar amore," he wrote to Johann Bracht, "et cunctis mundi

day, in spite of all mortifications and temporary discouragements, he continued to be really a book-lover and a student. Large and diversified as is the list of his published writings, several still remain inedited, and some have perished. At one time unduly praised, his books have since, perhaps, been as unduly depreciated. Several of them will yet repay perusal.

EINSIEDELN.

The Library of the famous Abbey of Einsiedeln is probably, in a sense, coeval with the Monastery itself, which dates from the tenth century. Of the foundation of the Abbey there is a legend of a saintly vigil, when the site was about to be chosen, which much resembles that told of the Abbey of Westminster. The treasures of literature acquired in its early days were soon destroyed, or scattered, by calamities—then so frequent—of fire and sword. It shared, afterwards, in the usual vicissitudes of restoration, of renewed losses, of occasional neglect, and of new revival. It survived the troubles of the Reformation era, and became the prime object of love and care to many successive and worthy Abbots. It received, at intervals, several important integral collections, sometimes by gift; more frequently, by purchase. During the eighteenth century a new building was erected for the reception of the Library. Einsiedeln long possessed a printing-press, which sent forth valuable works, and became, in its day, a worthy

opibus libros meos anteferebam, sed posteaquam rerum mutationem perpendi adesse mearum, omnia quæ prius amaveram stercoris æstimatione contempsi, animoque imperavi meo, nihil præter se ipsum deinceps suum credere, et quæ in morte necessario esset relicturus, multo magis vivens in carne disceret non amare," etc.—*Epist. fam.*, l. ii. 513, 514. (Vogel, in *Serapeum*, iii. 325.)

substitute as a literary centre for the Scriptorium of earlier times. Its commercial profits were applied, from time to time, to feed the Library with new books. But this source of income ceased towards the close of the last century.

At a date comparatively early, the Library of Einsiedeln became famous for the possession of historical manuscripts of value. GERBERT,[1] MABILLON,[2] HIRSCHING,[3] and others, have recorded their successive visits in later times, and have mentioned MSS. well worthy of being printed. At the date of HAENEL's visit, some of the choicest were kept apart from the Library, in the abbatial archives, and he did not see them.[4] But he mentions others which he inspected, and some of which dated from the eighth century.

About the year 1840, the Library here was counted. It was found to contain about 20,900 volumes of printed books, and 840 volumes of manuscripts, of which latter a considerable number were of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Of early printed books —reckoning them within PANZER's well-known limits for "cradle books" of the Press—there were about nine hundred volumes.[5] Shortly after this counting, a

1 "In magna manuscriptorum copia quædam sunt inedita."—GERBERT: *Iter Alemannicum*, p. 69; cf. Id., p. 72.

2 "In bibliotheca multi sunt exquisiti codices."—MABILLON: *Iter Germanicum*, printed in *Vetera Analecta*, p. 5.

3 "Die Bibliothek daselbst is reich an wictigen alten Handschriften."—HIRSCHING: *Sehenswürdigen Bibliotheken Teutschlands*, ivr. Bd., 87.

4 "Monasterii archivum, in quo permagnus vetustarum membranarum numerus . . . servari dicitur, inspicere non potui."—HAENEL: *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*, &c., p. 660.

5 *Serapeum*, iiir. Bd., 351, 352.

considerable accession of printed books, chiefly on historical subjects, was obtained at the sale of the Library of the historian HURTER. In 1881 the number of printed volumes was officially reported as about 40,000, and that of Manuscripts 1200.[1] The collection is made liberally accessible for literary purposes.

Dr. PETZHOLDT has printed an interesting document, of February, 1332, which records the gift, at that date, of ten volumes containing seventeen several works, historical and chronological; among them the *Cronica Martini Poloni*.[2]

It is still, or until a very recent date it was still, the practice at Einsiedeln, to follow the laudable old monastic fashion of having a reader at dinner-time. English travellers have sometimes listened to the reading, on such occasions, of translations of the works of LINGARD and of the one historical work of William COBBETT.[7] That book is certainly a most narrow and one-sided history of the destruction of our English Monasteries, but it embodies, amidst many bitter prejudices, not a little of memorable and too-little remembered truth.

1 TEDDER AND THOMAS, in *Encyc. Brit.*, *ut supra*.

2 PETZHOLDT: *Handbuch*, &c., 419-431.

3 *Handbook for Switzerland* (7th Edit.), p. 212.

CHAPTER III.

The Libraries of the Italian and French Benedictines.

Libri, et maxime Augustiniani, ut nosti, apud nos auro preciosores sunt.—Peter of Clugny, Epistles (*Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, p. 865).

Standing upon the accumulated labours of ages, we are apt to be ungrateful to those who, with weary labour, and often working through dark and dreary nights, built up the platform which now supports us. We complain impatiently of the blindness of many a man without whom we should not have seen; and of the incompleteness of many a man's doctrine, who was only incomplete because he was still engaged in searching for some truth which, when found, he handed on as a precious heirloom to us who know him not.
—Kingsley: *Preface to the Sermons of* Taulerus, p. xxxiii.

"'*Here, Man more purely lives, less oft doth fall,*
More promptly rises, walks with stricter heed,
More safely rests, dies happier, is freed
Earlier from cleansing fires, and gains withal
A brighter Crown.' On yon Cistertian wall
That confident assurance may be read. . . .
. . . . . The potent call
Doubtless shall cheat full oft the heart's desires;
Yet while the rugged Age on pliant knee
Vows to rapt Fancy humble fealty,
A gentler life spreads round the holy spires;
Where'er they rise, the sylvan waste retires,
And aëry harvests crown the fertile lea."—Wordsworth.

Monte Cassino was the cradle of a group of Monastic Communities, whence issued an illustrious band of missionaries, both of Religion and of Literary Culture, whose labours were destined to bear rich fruit over all Europe. The Benedictine code which was thence promulgated was an elevating, a civilising, and a uniting code, given amidst wide-spread debasement, ignorance, and strife. It struck at the root of that idle, dreamy life of mere contemplation, which had been so long the canker

and the opprobrium of Eastern monachism. The Benedictine was not merely to pray, to meditate, and to adore. He was to dig, to sow, to plant, to build, to write; to pacify those who were in conflict; to shelter the oppressed; to offer sanctuary to the penitent; he was to render to God that most acceptable of all worship, if offered in the spirit of Christian humility, the worship of conscientious, prayerful, and unselfish labour.

What, in the course of successive generations, the great Benedictine Community—regarded collectively—was enabled to achieve in one department of its activities,—that, namely, of the keepership of Literature, if the expression be a permissible one,—has been glanced at, as respects Britain and Germany, which, though in this particular neither first nor greatest, lie nearest home. The retrospect turns now towards Italy, the birthplace, and France, the most fruitful seed-plot, of the Benedictine Order.

Of the Founder's biography, it is enough to say in the pithy words of St. GREGORY: "If you seek an epitome of the life of St. BENEDICT, read his Rule." Monte Cassino had more than its share of the vicissitudes of that troubled time. Monks who had seen their illustrious Founder carried to his grave, lived to see their Monastery ruined by the Lombards. It was in the restored edifice that the first collection of books was slowly gathered, to be for the most part laid waste by the Saracens in 884. What was saved, by removal, of these early treasures, was almost entirely destroyed by fire twenty years afterwards.

When the Monastery was again rebuilt, it entered on

a new series of changes and calamities,—in the course of which earthquake added its ravages to those of fire and sword,—but the Library continued to make progress through them all. In the eleventh century the Monks of Monte Cassino became famous for the industry with which they transcribed, not only the theological and ecclesiastical MSS. they had amassed, but also Homer, Virgil, Horace, Terence; the *Idyls* of Theocritus; the *Fasti* of Ovid; and not a few of the historians of Greece and Rome. The copies thus made were widely disseminated.

Growth of the Library of Monte Cassino.

A circumstance which adds special interest to the story of the Community, is the number and celebrity of the men who in various ages have visited it, and have recorded their impressions of what they saw. Some brief notice of those visits will serve to shew both sides of the shield. At Monte Cassino, as elsewhere, the learned and laborious monk of one generation was followed by the faithless guardian, the stupid mutilator, and the criminal purloiner, of another.

Visits of famous men to the Library of Monte Cassino.

Boccaccio's visit appears to have occurred about 1360, and has been narrated by his disciple Benvenuto da Imola, from his dictation: *Volo ad clariorem intelligentiam hujus litteræ referre illud, quod narrabat mihi jocose venerabilis præceptor meus Boccacius de Certaldo. Dicebat enim, quod cum esset in Apulia, captus fama loci, accessit ad nobile monasterium Montis Cassini, de quo dictum est. Et avidus videndi libraria, quam audiverat ibi esse nobilissimam, petivit ab uno monacho humiliter, velut ille qui suavissimus erat,*

Boccaccio's account of the Cassino Library in 14th Century.

quod deferat ex gratia sibi aperire bibliothecam. At ille rigide respondit, ostendens sibi altam scalam: Ascende, quia aperta est. Ille lætus ascendens, invenit locum tanti thesauri, sine ostio vel clavi, ingressusque vidit herbam natam per fenestras, et libros omnes cum bancis coopertis pulvere alto. Et mirabundus cœpit aperire nunc istum librum, nunc illum, invenitque ibi multa et varia volumina antiquorum et peregrinorum librorum. Ex quorum aliquibus erant detracti aliqui quinterni, ex aliis recisi margines chartarum, et sic multipliciter deformati. Tandem miseratus, labores et studia tot inclytorum ingeniorum devenisse ad manus perditissimorum hominum, dolens et illacrymans recessit. Et occurrens in claustro, petivit a monacho obvio, quare libri illi pretiosissimi essent ita turpiter detruncati. Qui respondit, quod aliqui monachi volentes lucrari duos, vel quinque solidos, radebant unum quaternum, et faciebant psalteriolos, quos vendebant pueris, et ita de marginibus faciebant brevia, qæ vendebant mulieribus. Nunc ergo, o vir studiose, frango tibi caput pro faciendo libros.[1]

With all due grains of allowance for the Decameronian vein so clearly traceable in this anecdote, and in the appended moral, there is doubtless substantial truth in it, which, if need were, might be supported by corroborative testimony. But the dawn of a better day was not distant.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, TASSO spent the last Christmas of his life at Monte Cassino,

1 *La Commedia di* Dante, *commentata da* B. da Imola (Parad. xii. 74) note.

but his thoughts were then busy with higher themes than those of literature, and he probably passed more of his time in the subterranean chapel in which the remains of St. BENEDICT are supposed to rest, than in the twice-restored Library. About a century later occurred the visits of MABILLON and his companions of the Congregation of St. Maur.

Dom Michel Germain's account of the visit to Monte Cassino of Mabillon and other Benedictines of St. Maur

In one of the frank and gossiping letters addressed by Dom Michel GERMAIN to his friends at home, there is an amusing account of this visit. After praising the excellent supper at the Abbot's house, which had made amends for the too lenten fare they had met with on their journey, the good Benedictine then proceeds: "The next morning we went up the holy mountain on foot, by a road which in its windings runs for three miles before one reaches the Monastery. Figure to yourself a terrace, whereon stands a castle, the length of which is greater than its depth, and in the midst a very beautiful and symmetrical church. The buildings are substantial and, in spite of their position on the mountain, very lofty; with nothing of magnificence about them save that derived from the extent of frontage, and the regularity of the long range of windows; . . . all the chambers are vaulted, as well as the offices and outbuildings; and this is the usual practice in the Congregation of Monte Cassino, which has a right to pride itself on its ability to teach us the art of building wisely, substantially, and pleasingly. . . . . The Library is newly restored. Printed books and MSS. are bound alike, but the former are not of much note. Nor are there more than five hundred MSS. These were put entirely at

our disposal *(dont nous avons été les maîtres)*. Some *Cardinals have carried off the best. Of those thus removed, some were shewn to us in the Vatican.*"

Dom MICHEL goes on to express his regret that BALUZE should have blamed the Monks of Cassino so severely as he had done (in his *Nova Collectio Conciliorum*), for withholding a certain MS. relating to the Council of Ephesus. This volume "was *borrowed* a long time ago by a certain Cardinal, who would not return it. One cannot doubt," he adds, "that the borrower was Cardinal CASANATA, who, far from writing on M. BALUZE's behalf, as the latter had hoped he would do, kept the cat in the bag so cleverly, that the worthy Fathers, whatever their good will, could be of no service in the affair. But be sure you caution M. BALUZE against writing to Rome about it, since not only would it be of no avail, but might obstruct the success of other attempts to get sight of the MS. The Italians have not entrusted this work to a man devoted to the Holy See, in order that he may hand it to a Frenchman, already known to be a little predisposed against some of their pretensions. The best plan is not to say a word. With GOD's help, by hook or by crook, sooner or later, we shall get hold of it; or if not we, our friends who stay at Rome. But M. BALUZE—to whom I beg my humble respects—should take an opportunity of doing justice to the Fathers of Monte Cassino, who are really very worthy fellows, much more learned and clever than we fancied before we had seen them."

He then praises the exercises, the discipline, and the worship of the Community, and proceeds: "I return to

the Library. We have found some good things, and have filled two or three quires of paper. . . . Admission to the muniment-room has been offered us, and we mean to profit by it. Besides the deeds, *it contains some fine MSS., which are concealed there for fear lest the Seculars should take it into their heads to ask for them so pressingly as to preclude refusal.*[1]

Despite of perils so numerous and so diversified, and after all the vicissitudes of twelve centuries, Monte Cassino can yet boast of the possession of an extensive series of Manuscripts, mostly of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, . . . and of a wonderful collection of charters and records, ... including an hundred diplomas and papal bulls, beginning with the year 744.[2]

Visit of M. Ernest Renan, 1849.

Thirty-five years ago, the collection was officially visited by Messrs. RENAN and DAREMBERG, at the instance of the French Ministry of Public Instruction, and in his Report of July, 1850, M. RENAN writes thus: "This noble Abbey . . . . . would have sufficed to console us for the inhospitality and the disappointments which were awaiting us at Naples. The eight days which we passed in its archives, amidst the kindest attentions, have been perhaps the best employed days of our journey, and the most fruitful of good results. The discovery which I prize most highly is that of some unpublished pages of Abelard. According to the Catalogue, the volume

1 *Correspondance inédite de Mabillon et de Montfaucon avec l'Italie*, &c., i. 169-172.

2 CURZON: *Notices of Italian Libraries*, privately printed in the *Miscellanies* of the Philobiblon Society, vol. 1 (1855).

numbered 174 contained the *Enchiridion*, the *Retractationes*, three books of *Theologia Christiana*, by St. AUGUSTINE; and the *Sic et non* of ABELARD. The authors of the Catalogue had noted that a 'Christian Theology' ascribed to Saint AUGUSTINE must needs be apocryphal. At the first glance, I imagined that the work must be the *Theologia Christiana* of ABELARD, and the conjecture was amply verified, when I compared the MS. with the text published by MARTENE and DURAND, in the fifth volume of the *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*. Besides, this work did not consist of three books only, as indicated in the Catalogue, but, like the published text, of *five* books; except that instead of the titles of the fourth and fifth, there were blanks left for rubrication, ... and that the fifth book contained important variations and additions, amounting to five or six pages of enlargement of the Benedictine text. . . . . It will serve also to complete the text of that important work in the fine edition of M. COUSIN, whose judicious counsels had repeatedly drawn my attention to ABELARD, before I set out."

M. RENAN proceeds to state that he had also collated the *Sic et non*, and that although he knew already, from COUSIN, the fact that extensive varieties existed amongst the several MSS., he was nevertheless surprised at the amount of those which the Monte Cassino codex presented; and he then continues:

"The Archives contain a large number of MS. works of the celebrated philosopher CREMONINI, some of which are unpublished; and amongst them an inaugural lecture on the text *Mundus nunquam est; nascitur semper et*

moritur, and two letters,—the one from the Inquisition of Padua to CREMONINI, calling upon him to retract his errors; the other, CREMONINI'S reply, containing a distinct refusal to do so, couched in terms of remarkable boldness. Another manuscript which possessed great interest for me, on account of its bearings on the mediæval study of Greek, is a Psalter of the twelfth century, written in five volumes, the first of them containing the Greek text, transcribed in Latin characters. . . . . The collection, too, contains many other documents of value for the history of the Greek language in the West, especially during the Carlovingian period."[1]

These Archives are very rich in materials for the history of Apulia, of Calabria, and of Naples. They filled three rooms, when seen recently by RENAN; and if it be borne in mind where, up to that time, they had been preserved; what events and revolutions their custodians had witnessed; what perils and casualties they have survived; they may well be termed a wonderful collection of the muniments of History.

The most ancient MS. now at Monte Cassino is (according to M. VALERY) Origen's *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, of the year 569. It contains this curious inscription: *Donatus gratiâ Dei presbyter, proprium codiceus Justino Augusto tertio post consulatum ejus in ædibus B. Petri in Castello Lucullano* [which occupied the site of *Castello dell' Uovo*] *infirmus legi, legi, legi.* The oldest diploma is one of Ajo, prince of Benevento, bearing date 884, and beginning thus:

1 *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, i. 384-387.

Ajo Dei providentiâ Longobardorum gentis princeps.[1] The series of Longobardic charters is especially curious for its miniatures, as is that of Papal Bulls for the extraordinary privileges conferred on Monte Cassino,—privileges "of such a nature," says MONTFAUCON, "that the like have scarce ever been granted to Monks."[2]

There is a *Virgil*, transcribed (in the fourteenth century) in the Longobardic character, from a precious MS. of the tenth century; a *Dante*, of the thirteenth century; the *Hours of the B. Virgin*, with charming miniatures, of special interest for the History of Ornamentation, which were painted, in 1469, by Bartolommeo FABIO di Gandalio. Here, too, is an extensive collection of the MS. Correspondence of the great French and Italian Benedictines and Historiographers of the seventeenth century, MABILLON, MURATORI, and MONTFAUCON.

The book-manuscripts are now (1884) about nine hundred in number. The printed volumes amount to more than thirty-nine thousand, and include a fine series of incunabula. The marvellous series of charters is said to number nearly thirty thousand several documents. In its kind, it is unrivalled. And access is liberally accorded to students.

Library of the Monastery of Pomposia (in the 11th century)

In the Italian *Diary* of the illustrious Benedictine last named, there is an interesting letter which contains an account and catalogue of the Library of the Monastery of Pomposia, as it was in the eleventh century. This document was found in the Library of the Duke of

1 VALERY: *Voyages historiques, etc., ut supra*, l. xiv. c. 12.
2 MONTFAUCON: *Diarium Italicum*, c. xxii.

MODENA, and was communicated to MONTFAUCON by FONTANINI. Its writer was a priest, HENRY by name, of whom little more is known than that he had been in early life the disciple of JEROME, an Abbot of Pomposia, who had first made it famous for the activity of its Scriptorium, and the rapid growth of its Library.

In Patristic Literature, Pomposia seems to have been rich beyond all contemporary example. Of works and tracts by St. Augustine it possessed about a hundred and thirty, besides a large collection of his *Epistles*, and of letters sent to him; of Jerome, about forty; of St. Ambrose, also about forty; of St. John Chrysostom, and of Cyprian, a considerable series of books.

In history, ancient and mediæval, are to be noted Ten Books of Livy; Justin's Epitome of Trogus Pompeius; the Chronicle of Regino; a Chronicle of the Popes; an *Historia Africana;* an *Historia Alexandrina;* an *Historia illustrium virorum;* with some minor pieces on Ecclesiastical annals. In mentioning Livy, HENRICUS Clericus is careful to note the anxiety with which his master, Abbot JEROME, had sought for the missing books.

Of miscellaneous classic authors the most notable are Pliny and Seneca. And here the writer anticipates an expression of curiosity from his eleventh-century correspondent: why is a devout Christian Abbot so careful to collect Heathen writers, as opportunity offers. "Remember," says HENRY to STEPHEN, "the words of the holy Apostle: 'There are vessels of clay, as well as vessels of gold.' Books are destined to allure and to cultivate the tastes of all men. And we have," he adds, "more

august sanction still. It is our Blessed Lord who hath said: '*In my Father's House there are many mansions.*' These Pagan writers, in their measure, strive to inspire us with contempt (in comparison) of the things that are of this world only; of the greatness that is merely secular. Let the books of Pagans and of Christians rest together in peace." Such is his closing reflection. "And may the learned Abbot of Pomposia pursue to the end his endeavours that books may abound; may be preserved for the use of Posterity; may be carefully recorded in Catalogues for the service of the times to come."

To make even a tolerable approximation towards a fair and adequate account of the Libraries of the great Monasteries of Italy, would require much wider limits than it is at all practicable to assign to that subject here. The reader who desires to pursue it will find much information well brought together in the *Iter Italicum* of Blume; and in consulting that work, would do wisely to refer to the careful and valuable supplements to it which VOGEL contributed to the *Serapeum* at various times.

Library of the Monastery of Fleury (f. 17th Century).

The great Benedictine Abbey of Fleury *(St. Benoit-sur-Loire,)* held high rank amongst the Monasteries of France, and its foundation dated from the middle of the seventh century. Within two centuries of that foundation it had already attained eminence as a school of learning. Like all similar institutions, it had

its share in the troubles and losses of that disturbed period. But it continued—after intervals of depression—to thrive and to attract both masters and scholars, even from distant lands. According to certain authorities, it could boast at one time more than five thousand students.

There is still extant a Catalogue of the Fleury Library, drawn up towards the close of the tenth century. It comprises a hundred and fourteen manuscripts, of which a large proportion are of the Latin classical authors. This Catalogue is now in the Town Library of Berne.

Some of the historians or chroniclers of Fleury go on to say, that "every student was bound to deposit two copies of some work, ancient or modern, in its Library," and if so, we can easily conceive that the Community must have possessed, even at an early period of its history, an extensive collection. But it will be safer to conclude, with the learned authors of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, that, "without having recourse to an assertion which it would be difficult to vouch for, the various departments of literature that we know to have been then cultivated at Fleury, and the number of early MSS. which survived to later times, are sufficient to shew that its Library was well furnished."[2]

The first salient fact about the Library of Fleury for

1 HELYOT: *Histoire des ordres monastiques*, v. 95.

2 *Histoire Littéraire, ut supra*, vi. 35. In Vogel's opinion (an opinion eminently entitled to respect, as that of an indefatigable labourer in this field of research,) the implied doubt is superfluous. The assertion he thinks to be, on the face of it, probable and in accordance with known analogy, and he instances the case of Corvey, elsewhere noticed. (*Die Bibliothek der Benedictinerabtei Saint Benoit, oder Fleury an der Loire; Serapeum*, v. 17-29; 46-49.)

which there is conclusive testimony, seems to be the levy of a tax, expressly for its support, on the officers and on the dependant Priories of the Abbey. This impost was originally laid, according to the statement of M. CUISSARD,[1] by the Abbot SIMON, in July, 1103. It was confirmed and extended by Abbot MACARIUS in the year 1146.[2]

According to MARCHAND, this enactment of the Abbots SIMON and MACARIUS continued in force until the year 1562. Several similar regulations for the support of the Libraries of French Monasteries are on record; as, for instance, in the cases of the Abbey of St. Peter at Chartres, and of the Convent of the Holy Trinity at Vendome, both of which occur in the same century.

Under the Abbot JOHN, who governed Fleury from 1235 to 1248, there was much activity in the transcription of MSS., both in its own Scriptorium, and by means of literary missions to other Monasteries. Some of the volumes which were written at this period may now be seen in the Town Library of Orleans, together with a few of later date. But, here as elsewhere, a time of relaxed discipline, corrupt manners, and conspicuous mis-government, prophesied of the storm that was approaching. In the fifteenth century the good monks of Fleury, like their brethren of

1 CUISSARD: *Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Orléans; Fonds de Fleury* (*Orléans*, 1885, 8vo.), p. xvi. The MS. authority to which M. Cuissard refers is now in the Orleans Town Library, "No. 394 *bis*."

2 *Bibliotheca Floriacensis*, i. 409-411; as quoted by Vogel, *ut supra*, 23-25. Helyot (*Hist. des ord. mon.*, v. 94) refers to this document as of the *fourteenth* century,—misled, as it would seem, by an error of the transcriber.

St. Gall, had their worst enemies at home. In the sixteenth came the inevitable retribution, by the rude hands and sharp swords of the Huguenots.

Devastation of Fleury by the Huguenots.

The district around Fleury became one of the chief theatres of that fierce strife. Some of Condé's troopers threw themselves upon the Monastery, plundered it of almost everything that was saleable, and destroyed much of what they could not remove. The unfortunate Library suffered almost total dispersion. Many of the MSS. were purchased from the soldiers by Pierre DANIEL, an Advocate of Orleans, and Assessor of the Abbey; some were destroyed; some again remained amidst the ruins for nearly a quarter of a century, when they were found by DE BOIS, the editor of the *Bibliotheca Floriacensis.*

Subsequent fortunes of the MSS. that were preserved.

The MSS. of DANIEL were jointly purchased in 1603 by Jacques de BONGARS (the friend and Councillor of HENRY IV.) and Paul PETAU. The portion which fell to the share of the latter came eventually (and by purchase) to CHRISTINA, Queen of Sweden, and is now partly in the Vatican, and partly in the Town Library of Geneva. BONGARS' share was bequeathed to GRAVISSET, a native of Strasburgh. These passed eventually to the Town Library of Berne. They are more than four hundred in number.

Pierre DANIEL had not retained in his own possession all the Fleury Manuscripts which he had purchased. He returned a portion of them to the Monastery after its restoration. But he kept the most valuable. Paul PETAU, also, returned to the Community two or three of

the Manuscripts he had acquired. Of the great collection which he sold to Queen CHRISTINA, a few volumes, it appears, remained at Stockholm. The *Bibliotheca Petaviana* of the Vatican—mainly derived from Fleury—is said to contain more than sixteen hundred manuscripts.

The Benedictines of Fleury made many efforts to increase the small remnant which remained to them of their once noble Library. In the year 1658 they erected a new library-building. In 1720 a Catalogue was made, by Dom CHAZAL, which comprised two hundred and sixty-six manuscripts. Soon afterwards they were called upon to send some of the choicest of these survivors to the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Près in Paris, for the use of the Editors of the new Benedictine Edition of the Greek and Latin Fathers. Some of the volumes so contributed remained at Paris, and are now in the National Library.

The manuscripts still at Fleury were, when the Revolutionary confiscation came, about two hundred and thirty in number. By the exertions of the Abbé CARRE, in his capacity as "Archivist of the District of Orleans," they were preserved from injury; were safely transferred, for a time, to Gien, and became part of the Town Library of Orleans, on the foundation of that institution, in the year 1807. They were catalogued in the year 1820 by SEPTIER, the then Town Librarian. But they sustained serious loss under the "inspectorship" of LIBRI, in 1842. "LIBRI," writes M. Léopold

> DELISLE, "put to pillage the Orleans Library. He stole many choice manuscripts, and in their place inserted volumes of little value *(plus ou moins insignifiants)*. He mutilated a still larger number, from which he took portions that were capable of being made to look like complete MSS. I have found in the 'Libri Collection' [of the Manuscripts lately at Ashburnham; purchased in 1883 for the National Library of Italy;] a score of articles formed at the expense of the collections belonging to the City of Orleans."[1]

In spite of these enormous losses, by the ravages of the Huguenot soldiers, and by spoliators such as LIBRI, the small remnant of the Fleury MSS. includes many volumes of great value and beauty. The whole subsisting collection has been ably catalogued by M. CUISSARD in 1885.[2] Salient among the more precious volumes are (1,) A *Sacramentarium*, on vellum, of the eleventh century. It came from our English Abbey of Ramsey in Huntingdonshire. (2,) Portions of the *Holy Bible*, with illuminated initial letters of great beauty: of the thirteenth century;—(3,) Eusebii Cæsariensis *Ecclesiastica Historia*, . . . in Latinum versa, of the tenth century;—(4,) Usuardi *Martyrologium*, of the ninth century.

There are also almost innumerable portions of choice Patristic Manuscripts, from the seventh century to the tenth, which were partially destroyed by the Huguenots,

1 DELISLE: *Notice sur plusieurs MSS. de la Bibliothèque d'Orléans.*

2 CUISSARD: *Inventaire, &c.*, ut supra.

but of which the remains were recovered and carefully arranged.

Notices by Martène and others of French and Flemish Monastic Libraries destroyed.

How extensive—in many parts of France and Flanders—those ravages of the Huguenots were, is shewn very strikingly in the literary travels of MARTENE, MABILLON, RUINART, and other eminent Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur, in the following century. Dr. MAITLAND[1] has selected thence some conspicuous passages which illustrate the matter concisely and impressively:—

Ravages of the Huguenots in the 16th century

"At *St. Theudere*, near Vienne," reports MARTENE, "the Chapter shewed us, with the utmost kindness, such fragments of their old muniments as had escaped the fury of the heretics, who in 1562 burnt all their deeds.[2] Again, at *Tarbe*, we found little to do, the Cathedral and all its monuments having been burnt by the Calvinists, who throughout Bearn and Bigorre have left frightful indications of their fury."[3] At St. John's Abbey, *Thouars*, "the ravages of the Calvinists have dispersed most of the muniments."[4] At *Grimberg*, "the Library having been burnt by the heretics, all the MSS. were destroyed. There now remain but two Bibles, and the ancient synodal statutes of the church of Cambray."[5]

At *Eisterbach*, "as all the ancient muniments were dispersed in the wars, we found no MSS., save a Bible,

1 *The Dark Ages.* No. xix.—Destruction of MSS., pp. 222, 239. (3rd Edit., 1853.)

2 *Voyage littéraire de deux Benedictins*, i. 252.

3 Ibid. (2nd part), 13.

4 Ib., 5.

5 Ib., ii. 112 (Maitland, *ut sup.*, No. xvii. p. 293).

and the Dialogues and Homilies of Cesarius."[1] Of *Dilighen*, again, "this Abbey was ruined by the heretics. It is now restored . . . . and has a tolerable Library, but very few MSS., and those unimportant."[2] RUINART gives an almost precisely similar account of the Library of a Monastery near *Ferté-sous-Jouarre*.[3] Of *Munster*, in Luxembourg, MARTENE narrates that the Abbey twice suffered the fortune of war, and was entirely razed . . . "we could not, therefore, expect to make any discoveries in its Library. In fact, we found there only five or six manuscripts."[4] And, again, of St. Arnoul's, at *Metz:* "This Abbey . . . . was entirely destroyed, like those of St. Clement, St. Symphorien, St. Peter, and St. Mary, when Metz was besieged by the Emperor CHARLES V.";[5] and of the *Chartreuse*, near *Liège:* "There were formerly many MSS., but, the Monastery having been entirely reduced to ashes in the late wars, they were all consumed. There remain but a few volumes of sermons, by Jacques DE VITRY, which escaped the flames."[6]

Destruction of Monastic Libraries in ordinary Warfare.

And, finally, as respects many other losses by accidental fire; as, for example, at *Rheims:* "The Cathedral and the Archiepiscopal Palace having been burnt in the twelfth century, all its archives were destroyed."[7] At

1 *Voyage littéraire, &c.*, ii. 270.

2 Ib., ii. 112.

3 RUINART: *Iter Litterarium in Alsatiam et Lotharingiam*, 415. (Maitland, *ubi supra*).

4 *Voy. litt., ut supra*, ii. 302.

5 Ib., i. (2nd part), 112.

6 Ib., ii. 183.

7 Ib., i. (2nd part), 79.

Gembloux: "We passed the morning in examining such MSS. as had escaped the general destruction of that Monastery by fire."[1] At *Liège:* "There was formerly, in the Jacobius Convent, a tolerably good Library, but all the MSS. were destroyed in a fire which, a few years ago, entirely consumed the Monastery."[2] At *Lucelle*, again: "The fire which destroyed the Monastery in 1699 deprived us of the pleasure of seeing a Library, once very rich in MSS., the whole of which were burnt to ashes, as well as a poor Monk who had tried to save them."[3] At *St. Vaast:* . . . . "What we have now stated may serve to shew that the *six* fires which have happened here have not quite destroyed everything, and may enable us to form some conception of the immense treasures we should have found, but for these destructive calamities."[4] And,—not further to multiply instances which are but too sadly monotonous,—at *Loroy*, where, "the Abbey having been wholly burnt about forty years ago, not one of its old literary monuments has been preserved."[5]

Library of St. Riquier.

In the fourth volume of D'ACHERY's *Spicilegium* there is preserved a Catalogue of the Library of the Community of St. Riquier, as it flourished early in the ninth century. The Catalogue is derived from a general Return, made by order of LEWIS I., of all the property of that Abbey, in the year 831.

1 *Voy. lit.*, ii. 117.
2 Ib., ii. 182.
3 Ib., i. (2nd part), 141.
4 Ib., ii. 65.
5 Ib., i. 36.

In Biblical Literature, the collection is distinctively and eminently rich. The expository works of St. JEROME and of St. AUGUSTINE are especially complete. Our own BEDA is well represented. Canon Law offers a long list of Authors. The Classics present us only with parts of Virgil and of Cicero.

Mr. Hallam's criticism on the St. Riquier Catalogue.

In his valuable and instructive "Supplemental Notes" to the "View of Europe during the Middle Ages," Mr. HALLAM has quoted a cursory notice of this Library of St. Riquier, given in the third volume of AMPERE's *Histoire littéraire de la France.* ("We possess a Catalogue of the Library in the Abbey of St. Riquier, written in 831; . . . . Christian writers are in great majority; but we find also the Eclogues of Virgil; the Rhetoric of Cicero; the History of Homer, that is, the works ascribed to Dictys and Dares;"[1]) and he appends to the quotation this question: "*Can anything be lower than this, if nothing is omitted more valuable than what is mentioned?*"[2]

The Catalogue so referred to by Mr. HALLAM contains, it may be said, by way of summary, an extensive series of the works of St. Jerome, of St. Augustine, of St. John Chrysostom, and of St. Gregory the Great; it contains several works of St. Hilary and of St. Cyprian. It includes a respectable series of Grammarians. May it not be compatible with all the respect and esteem so eminently due to the excellent Historian of the Literature of Europe to ask in one's turn, whether even the St. Riquier Library, with all its obvious deficiencies, did not, after all, provide the Monk who had really mastered

1 *Histoire littéraire de la France avant le xiie siècle,* iii. 236.

2 HALLAM: *Supplemental Notes,* 396.

the stores which it offered, a very fair intellectual equipment for his battle of life, as it lay before him in that old ninth century?

CORBIE in Picardy.

One of the most famous of all French Monasteries, of distinctively mediæval days,—in a bibliographical point of view—is the Abbey of Corbie in Picardy. And here, again, we meet with an instance, as it seems, of an express conventual regulation which as early as in the eleventh century made it incumbent on every novice, on the day of his "profession," to give to the infant Library of Corbie some book. The point, however, has been brought into question; and there may be room for doubt. Be that as it may, we possess an unquestionable Catalogue of this celebrated Library, as it stood in the twelfth century,—in a MS. which passed successively from the hands of DE THOU, of DU PUY, and of MEERMAN, into those (1824) of the late Sir Thomas PHILLIPPS, of Middle Hill (by whom it was shewn to the present writer in 1856). The collection of Corbie was already, at the date of that Catalogue, of notable extent. Under "AUGUSTINUS" thirty-nine entries appear; under "BEDA," thirteen; under "BOETIUS," fifteen; under "HIERONYMUS," sixteen; under "PRISCIANUS," four; under "VIRGILIUS," seven; under "CICERO," five; under "LUCANUS," four. Juvenal, Persius, Martial, Ovid, Statius, Terence, all occur,—as single entries,—together with Livy, Pliny, and Seneca. There is also a considerable number of such works of History as were then attainable.[1]

1 *Catalogus librorum in Bibliotheca Corbeiensi insitus, &c.* (MS. formerly at Middle Hill, now in the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham, No. 1825.)

Fragments of a still earlier Catalogue—but only fragments—were discovered by Cardinal MAI, in a Queen Christina MS., preserved amongst the literary collections of that Queen, in the Library of the Vatican, and were published by him in 1841.[1] A third Catalogue was also found in the same Christina MS.,[2] but this was attributed by MAI, not to Corbie in Picardy, but to Corvey in Westphalia,—an opinion opposed by German archæologists immediately on its enunciation, and since then amply controverted, on independent grounds, by M. Léopold DELISLE, of the Institute, in the essay which he published, in 1860, in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*. The Catalogue numbered 3, is of the earlier part of the twelfth century.

MS. Vatican: *Christina*, 520.

Corbie was founded, as early as in the seventh century, by Queen BATHILDA, and was probably peopled by a colony of Monks from Luxeuil. It soon became eminent for the activity of its Scriptorium, in behalf of which certain grants for the more effectual purveyance of vellum were conferred on the Monks. And a sort of rate was levied; partly towards a salary for the Librarian, and partly towards the cost of bookbinding. This

Amongst the works of History, or bearing upon History mentioned in this document are "Gaii Cæsaris Historia," "Tiberii Cæsaris Pragmaticum," "Victoris Chronica."

1 *Spicilegium Romanum*, v. 202.

2 "Le texte qu'a publié le Cardinal Mai est, en effet, loin de représenter le manuscrit original."—DELISLE: *Le Cabinet des MSS., &c.*, ii. 108 (1874). The variations, it may be added, are chiefly due to an arbitrary division and subdivision of integral articles of the original text. These would seem to have been made to illustrate a preconceived theory of the illustrious Editor, whose splendid discoveries and services may well excuse a passing crotchet or two.

rate had the special sanction of Pope ALEXANDER III. (1159-81).[1]

Some of the Italian Monasteries,—and notably those of Monte Cassino and of Rome,—contributed to the enrichment of the Library of Corbie, which, in its turn, contributed—sometimes by gift, but more frequently by loan—to the literary wants of other Communities. Usually, when books were borrowed, other volumes were deposited in pledge. On one such occasion, the book pledged was regarded by the Monk who had had the care of the Library as so heretical, that he proposed to the Community that it should be formally burnt. In some cases, the deposited books remained in the Corbie Library until its dispersion; and, having survived, can still be identified as the property, originally, of other Monasteries.

From the age of CHARLEMAGNE to that of St. LEWIS, the labours of the Corbie Scriptorium seem to have been distinguished for zeal and wise productivity.

The literary zeal of the Corbie Community, like that of Monastic Communities elsewhere—but clearly in a less degree than was often the case elsewhere,[2]—slackened in the fourteenth century. But, as the tonsured scribes became idler, the professional scribes of Paris became more diligent, and were largely employed

1 ZIEGELBAUER: *Historia rei literariæ Ordinis S. Benedicti*, i. 471; DELISLE: *Recherches sur l'ancienne Bibliothèque de Corbie* (Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes, 5e sér., tom. i. pp. 393-439, and 498-515).

2 M. Léopold Delisle has supplied conclusive evidence of the limitation I have suggested in the text, as to the comparative extent and degree of the period of supineness at Corbie, both in the Essay above quoted, and in his later and admirable work : *Le Cabinet des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, ii. 126, *seqq.*

by various benefactors of Corbie, for the enrichment of its Library. Eminent for liberality of this kind was a certain Etienne DE CONTI, who long administered the affairs of the Abbey, and was nominated as Abbot, but set aside by the Pope. He died in 1413, and is memorable as one of the continuators of the Martinian Chronicle. Some of the fine books given by him to Corbie may still be seen, both at Paris and at Amiens. For one such work he paid to the transcriber a sum equal, perhaps, to some £33 of present English money. But the decline of learning in the Convents was not effectually arrested, until the date of the Maurist reform. Sometimes, the Monks gave away the books they had ceased to value; at others, their laxity permitted them to be stolen. When, long afterwards, they roused themselves from their slumbers, they evinced their new-born zeal by scattering, broadcast, accusations of plunder. PITHOU, BRISSON, SIRMOND, and André DU CHESNE, are among the later Scholars whom they charge with purloining their books.

The gifts of Etienne de Conti to the Library of Corbie.

Decline of Monkish zeal for Literature.

A similar accusation was brought against a far more illustrious name, and the circumstances are curious. The President DE THOU has himself recorded—in his Memoirs—his visit to Corbie during the civil wars, in the discharge of his official duties;—his regret at observing the gross neglect into which the Library had fallen;—and his selection from its remains of some fine books, which, he says, he "put aside," as worthy of being printed, in better and more quiet days. The Monks, on the other hand, go the length of asserting—and it is assertion merely—that DE THOU caused a

De Thou's visit to Corbie.

magazine of corn to be established in the Monastery for the service of the royal troops, and then took occasion to fill the empty hogsheads in which the corn had been brought, with the choicest manuscripts he could lay his hands on. Certain it is that in DE THOU's collection, as in many other collections, there were books—still elsewhere identifiable[1]—on which one can yet read the inscription: "*Liber S. Petri Corbeie.*"

The fate of the Library in the "Year of Corbie" and afterwards.

Whatever its losses, a Catalogue, dated in 1621—now preserved amongst the MSS. of the National Library—shews that the collection was still a fine one. When, in 1636, the Spaniards made their memorable inroad, Corbie fell into their power. After the re-capture, the Library was sealed up by the Bishop of Chartres. The Monks petitioned RICHELIEU, but in vain, for its continuance with them intact. They laid great stress on the free access which the learned had long enjoyed to the treasures of Monastic Libraries.[2] The Minister, nevertheless, empowered one of the Maurist Benedictines,—Jerome Anselme LE MICHEL,—to select the choicest MSS. for the Library of St. Germain-des-Près. Accordingly, about four hundred volumes were removed thither, in 1638. Forty years later, these accessions appear among the other MSS. of the Abbey of St. Germain, catalogued precisely like those of its original collection. Until 1791, the four hundred volumes from Corbie seem to have been preserved entire.

1 Amongst them are works of Livy, of Pliny, of Statius, and of St. Gregory of Tours.

2 Their statement, then submitted to Richelieu, has been printed by M. Delisle, *Le Cab. des MSS.*, ii. 137.

In that year, twenty-five choice volumes were stolen. These were seen, soon afterwards, in the collection of DUBROWSKI. They are, mainly, now among the many and splendid acquisitions of the great Library of St. Petersburgh.[1] In 1794, the Library of St. Germain's suffered greatly from fire, but the remaining Corbie MSS. escaped. They were removed, about a year afterwards, to the National Library of Paris, which they still adorn.

About three hundred MSS. had been left at Corbie in 1638, when the finest books were transferred to the metropolis. In 1662, they were inventoried, along with the printed books. At an early stage of the Revolution —probably in 1791—these were carried to Amiens. In 1793, it was officially certified that all the MSS. entered in the Inventory of 1662 were duly present, with the exception of seven volumes. Seventy-five of the more valuable MSS. were transferred to Paris (to rejoin the other Corbie MSS.) during the Consulate of NAPOLEON, in the year 1803.

Corbie MSS. in the Town Library of Amiens.

What then remained, and still remains, at Amiens, was put into good order in 1828, but it was then ascertained that the seven volumes originally missing had been increased by other losses which had occurred in the interval. Since that date, the Amiens MSS. have been admirably catalogued by M. GARNIER. The survivors, therefore, of the famous collection of Corbie must now be sought in the great repositories of Paris

1 One of the twenty-five is now amongst the Burney MSS. in the British Museum;—how acquired by Dr. Burney I do not know.

and of St. Petersburgh, in the Town Library of Amiens, and in the British Museum. A few scattered volumes occur amongst private collections.

LEVRIER's Catalogue, of the year 1794, describes four hundred and five manuscripts—taking the ancient and the modern together—as of Corbie origin, and as being at that time preserved in the Town Library of Amiens. LEVRIER was an eminent local Magistrate, and to him had been committed the execution at Amiens of the Revolutionary law for "destroying the monuments of feudality." "I knew," he wrote to Dom POIRIER, of St. Germain's, at a later date, "how to reconcile my duties as an officer of the Republic with my tastes as an Antiquary."

The whole number of Corbie MSS. now preserved in the National Library at Paris amounts to about four hundred and fifty.

CHAPTER IV.

Notices of some Monastic and other Mediæval Libraries of Paris, (of various Communities, Colleges, and Orders);—including a Summary View of the subsequent History of some Mediæval Collections, which have survived until present, or recent, times; and of their recent Benefactors.

> When one visits a place as a new-comer, in whatever corner of the World it may lie, one can scarcely help feeling an anxiety to know something of its past History;—to know what sort of men have left their footprints in the houses and the streets;—to know, above all else, what Foundations they left behind them,—whether tower or belfry; School or Church. . . . . Especially is this feeling excited, when one intends to make the place one's abode for a time. . . . . As soon as that past history has come to shape itself, somewhat, in our minds; we not only enjoy the more whatever the place may have of attraction or of charm, but we seem, in a fashion, to get possession of it. This must be so, in a pre-eminent degree, when the place itself is famous;—when it can boast Foundations expressly intended to keep alive the memory of great men, and of great achievements.—Sainte Beuve: *Portraits Littéraires*, iii. 458 (Edit. of 1852).

It is one of the standing marvels of Paris that, abounding as it so notoriously does with charms of every kind for pleasure-seekers, and for worldlings; for those who wish to have the toys of life in richest variety, and in most exquisite form, there is hardly a city in Europe which teems more largely with memories of the devoted student, of the absorbed thinker, of the recluse, and of the Saint. It has a whole world of literary and studious associations for the Scholar, which is as thickly peopled with memorials of the great dead, as its artistic and refined toyshops are lavishly filled with every appliance of present pastime, which can

draw money from the best-guarded purse, and attract sojourners from the ends of the earth.

Many centuries ago, Paris abounded in Libraries and in Museums, when they were few and far between, even in the cities of Italy. The first "LENDING LIBRARIES"—of which distinct record can be found—were established in Paris, and established in Monasteries. The first really and absolutely "FREE LIBRARY" of the World was opened in Paris. The earliest provision, by traders, for the wants of school-boy and student, in the way of a "CIRCULATING-LIBRARY," was made there, and made in mediæval times, under the patronage of the University of Paris. Some of the very earliest "MUSEUMS," whether of the relics of Antiquity or of the wonders of Nature, were provided there, and were provided by Monks. The greatest Collections, whether of Manuscripts or of Marbles, which now draw crowds of students and artists from remotest countries, have a mediæval history, of one kind and extent or other. And it is harder in Paris than elsewhere, in matters of Literary history,—notwithstanding all its revolutions and all its transformations—to draw any sharp line between the Mediæval and the Modern.

University Library.

Take, for example, the Library of the University of France. Under its present laws, and in its present form, it is a new creation, although with a history, thanks to benefactions, already rich and varied, despite its newness. Known long, and cited often, as "Library of the Sorbonne," its real connexion with the old Sorbonne of the thirteenth-century Monk ROBERT is very little more than a connexion of name, and of abode. It

occupies the attractive,—the deeply interesting buildings of the old College. But it does not possess the rich manuscripts of the old College. None the less, it, too, has a mediæval history, and one as full of literary interest, direct or indirect, as is the history of the Sorbonne itself. For the University of our own days is a real representative of the ancient University of Paris; and to wrest its mediæval annals from its modern annals would be to despoil both. The history of the commerce of books could be told or illustrated instructively, in almost every one of its chapters, simply from the history of the French University, taken in its full scope and bearings from early times.

Library of St. Geneviève.

With the present noble Library of St. Geneviève, it is otherwise. Here we have, indeed, a Monastic foundation, already ancient when the Sorbonne was begun; but a noble library was twice ruined; once by barbaric invaders, in times almost before the dawn of French history; again, by corrupted Monks, in the sixteenth century. The real history of the existing Library of St. Geneviève dates only from the re-foundation of the Monastery, under the auspices of Cardinal RICHELIEU. And by the labours of a line of eminent Librarians, the modern institution which has been built upon the old Monastic foundation of, perhaps, the sixth century, has become a model, in its kind, for the Libraries of the nineteenth century. In these brief "Memoirs of Libraries," I therefore treat St. Geneviève as if it had been a modern foundation. But I narrate the varied fortunes of the Library of this University, and of its component collections, in connection with the rich mediæval annals of that of the Sorbonne.

§ 1.—The Libraries of the Ancient College of Sorbonne and of the University of France (formerly known as "*Library of the Sorbonne*"); with some notice of its recent Augmentations.

> . . . . . Turn your head now, and look at the personage who passes with hasty steps. By those expressive and vivacious features; by those eyes, now so proud and anon so meek, you would take him for a Poet, and you would not be far wrong. He is the most eloquent of our philosophers, a great writer, a talker almost unrivalled, but, before all things else,—he is a Connoisseur. Nothing escapes his passion for collecting:—printed books, manuscripts, prints, pictures; and wherever he sets foot he is King. Who knows, as he knows it, the age of Lewis XIV.? He was there; he is acquainted with all its secrets. If need were, he could help Mazarin to decipher the enigmas of the famous "tablets." What do you think it is that, at this moment, so wholly absorbs him? It is the little volume which he carries in his hand,—a copy of the first edition of *Zayde*, on large paper,—and bearing the arms of that atrocious Duke of La Rochefoucauld. For to-day, adieu to philosophy. Our sage lives only to enjoy his precious windfall. . . . . How vain are human praises in comparison with the pleasure that small acquisition affords him. Only think of it—a unique copy, uncut, and bound in lemon-coloured morocco.—Laboulaye (*La manie des livres*, 1859).

Part I. Chapter IV. § 1—Library of the Sorbonne.

The foundation of the College of Sorbonne cannot be precisely fixed upon contemporary evidence. Its charter from St. Lewis exists, but is now without a date. It may, probably, be assigned to the year 1250. It is also probable that the Library is coeval with the College. The Founder, Robert, "of Sorbonne" gave about seventy volumes.[1] As early as in the year 1271, there is record of the bequest by Guerond of Abbeville of nearly three hundred volumes. And of these no less than a hundred and eighteen have been also identified among the MSS. of Sorbonne origin in the same great repository.[2] Germain of Narbonne gave some books

1 Delisle: *Les Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ii. 142, *seqq.*
2 Ibid.

at about the same date. So that before the Founder's death, in 1274, there was a Library of considerable extent and value. Fifteen years later, it had received considerable accessions and careful organization. There exists a code of regulations, of the year 1289-1290, which direct the insertion in each volume thereafter acquired of the date of reception, and the preparation of a complete Catalogue arranged in classes. At this date, the Library was already divided into a consulting department, and a lending department. At first, the borrowers of books must be members of the College, but afterwards the privilege was extended to strangers. As early as in 1321, M. Delisle has found record that an express regulation was made for keeping the reputedly *best* book on a given subject always in its place. In that fact we recognize the anticipation of a rule which on some of our own old foundations has been newly introduced, and which in some others is thought by students to be much needed.

The Catalogue of 1290 is now preserved in the Library of the Arsenal. It comprises a thousand and seventeen volumes. Among the recorded donors of the fourteenth century occur the names of several Englishmen, as well as those of Italians, Spaniards, and Poles. In a second Catalogue, of 1338, fourteen hundred and twenty-two volumes are enumerated, of which three hundred and thirty are set apart for consultation, and a thousand and ninety are made available to borrowers.[1] Minute regulations for the use and preservation of the

1 Delisle, ii. 182.

Library are made. But many losses are recorded. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, a Register of Borrowers was provided (1402), and is still extant. It shews that at this time a small fee was paid for the loan of books. The practice also obtained of inserting on the fly-leaf the estimated value of each book. But no stamp was used until a very recent date.

Introduction of Printing into France.

In 1469 occurred one of the most notable incidents in the mediæval history of the Library and of the College. The Doctors of Sorbonne invited from Mentz, Ulrich GERING, Michael FRIBURGER, and Martin CRANTZ, and installed them within their own buildings.[1] There, in 1470, was printed *Gasparini Bergamensis Epistolarum opus*. The printers recorded in laudatory verses their sense of favours received, and their hope of favours to come—

> "Ut sol lumen, sic doctrinam fundis in orbem,
> Musarum nutrix, regia Parisius;
> Hinc prope divinam tu, quam Germania novit,
> Artem scribendi suscipe, promerita."
>
> . . . . .

What the Sorbonne did for these early printers had had its difficulties and its perils. The scribes and illuminators of manuscripts looked as jealously upon

1 CHEVILLIER: *De l'origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, 90; FRANKLIN, *ut sup.*, 259. Schoefer and Heinlin established in Paris a rival repository for the sale of Mentz impressions in 1474, or perhaps somewhat earlier; and this also was within an ecclesiastical precinct. The Brethren of the Holy Cross welcomed a clerk or agent of the Mentz printers, but he died within a short time of his arrival, and his remaining stock was seized (*"par droit d'aubaine"*) and sold. The Monks, however, obtained from Lewis XI. an ordonnance for the payment of the proceeds to Schoeffer They amounted to no less than 2,425 crowns. (FRANKLIN: *A.B.*, i. 330; cf. Chevillier, *ut sup.*)

German innovating artisans and their marvellous productions, as our English weavers used to look upon French or Flemish new-comers, with their improved processes, and were ready to shew their dislike almost as turbulently. Of workers in one way or other connected with the production of manuscripts, Paris is said to have contained at this time nearly six thousand. But the printers were protected, and they prospered. Their gratitude was shewn by the gift of books to the Library, and by gifts of money; as well as by eulogy of the College in flowing verse. Some fine books given by GERING are still to be seen in various Parisian collections. At his death, in 1510, the Doctors had their choice from "a considerable stock of books in sheets," and they inherited the produce of the sale of the printing office and its plant, in addition to a bequest of 8,500 livres.[1] The Sorbonne attained celebrity for the choice specimens of early typography in its Library.

The eagerness of the Sorbonne to welcome the new invention led, in 1481, to the construction of a new building for the Library. It was nearly 120 feet long; was lighted by thirty-eight windows; and was provided with twenty-eight desks for readers. The Doctors decorated their Library with the portraits of their benefactors; and they were careful to isolate it from neighbouring structures.[2]

The fame of the swarming students of the College attracted, a few years later, the notice of LUTHER. "The Doctors of Sorbonne," he said, "have obtained

1 CHEVILLIER, p. 90; FRANKLIN, i. 259.

2 DELISLE, ii. 190, *seqq.*

the most desirable residence in Paris, and they have twenty thousand scholars. Their name, I imagine, is derived from the fruit (*'Sorbus'*) of the Dead Sea." LUTHER's poor sarcasm, and his obvious exaggeration of the number of students, testify alike to his appreciation of the Sorbonne as a stronghold of the Roman Church. He would have rejoiced could he have foreseen that his Parisian antagonists, in the vain endeavour to increase their strength by persecution, would by and bye both lessen their power and sully their fame. For a time, the body which had won for itself the glory of having brought Printing into France, became the enemy of the French press.

The historian of the Libraries of the seventeenth century, Father Lewis JACOB, speaks of the Sorbonne collection as being "very good and very fine."[1] When his book appeared, the Sorbonne Library was on the eve of being more than doubled by an indirect consequence of the testamentary arrangements of RICHELIEU. And probably the accession in point of numbers was surpassed by the enhancement in intrinsic value.

Eventual incorporation of Richelieu's Library with that of the Sorbonne.

For good and for evil, what RICHELIEU did was usually done with a certain grandeur, save only when his self-esteem as statesman, or his literary vanity as author, was touched. Then, the great Cardinal could descend to pettinesses as well as to cruelties. But to the Doctors of Sorbonne he was, for five and thirty years, the constant friend and the munificent benefactor.

1 LOUIS JACOB: *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, 1643.

He undertook the charge of re-building their entire edifice—Schools, Library, residences, and dependencies—on a much enlarged scale. He did not intend that they should inherit his own Library, which he had aggrandized by acts of spoliation, as well as by wide research and liberal outlay. It was his ambition that a great "Richelieu Library," augmented from time to time, and freely accessible to scholars, should help to perpetuate his name and be an heir-loom of his family. The collection was therefore bequeathed to the Dukes his successors, but with an express provision for superintendence from time to time by visitors chosen by the Doctors of Sorbonne.[1]

The Cardinal's heirs did not observe the conditions of his bequest, either as to enlargement or publicity. Nor did they comply with his directions as to the completion of the new buildings of the College. After much litigation, it was decreed by the Parliament of Paris (1660) that the Library should be transferred to the Doctors of the Sorbonne, together with an endowment from the Cardinal's estate for its maintenance in perpetuity.

The Cardinal's Library included many precious manuscripts, and amongst them a collection of a hundred and ten volumes—chiefly Oriental—which had been collected at Constantinople by the French Ambassador De Breves. By him they had been intended for the King's Library. When they reached France, they were placed

1 "*Mon dessein est . . qu'elle [ma dite bibliothèque] puisse servir non seulement à ma famille, mais encore au Publicque.*"—Richelieu's *Will*, printed in Appendix to Franklin, *ut sup.*

in the hands of GABRIEL Sionita, apparently for arrangement and cataloguing. In 1640, he was imprisoned by RICHELIEU's order; the books were placed in the Cardinal's own Library, and were bound, with his arms emblazoned on the covers.

When, in obedience to the directions of RICHELIEU's Will, the Sorbonne opened its Library to students, it offered them, in addition to a noble collection of printed books, nearly two thousand volumes of manuscripts in good condition and well arranged. But this was not effected until many years after the transfer from the RICHELIEU family.[1]

RICHELIEU's virtual example had already been followed by one of his Secretaries, Michel LE MASLE DES ROCHES, who, like his master, had been a great book-lover,—as a rhyming contemporary notes:

> "La Sorbonique est grande, où la Richelienne
> Est entrée en partie, et toute celle encor
> De Des Roches Le Masle, acquise avec son or."[2]

LE MASLE gave also a liberal endowment.[3] By these accessions, the Sorbonne collection was raised to the first rank amongst French Libraries.

It had already been honoured by the service, as

1 DELISLE: *Le Cabinet des MSS.*, ii. 206; cf. FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Bibl.*, ut supra.

2 MICH. DE MAROLLES: *Paris, ou description succincte de cette grande ville*, 43.

3 By an act of donation, 16 Mai, 1646. FRANKLIN: *La Sorbonne, ses origines*, &c. (1875), p. 148. JACOB (*Traicté des plus belles Bibl.*, 537,) says that Le Masle made publicity a condition of his gift. But M. Franklin states that no such condition appears on the document.

Librarian, of many men conspicuous in Literature and in Theology. Amongst them were Marguerin de La Bigne, editor of the *Bibliotheca Patrum;* Jean Filesac; Claude Morel; Claude Hemere, the historian of the University of Paris. It was now placed in charge of André Chevillier, the historian of Printing, who filled the office thirty-five years. He was one of the many men who have added to a keen love of the gentle craft of book-collecting, a keener love of suffering humanity. When his means ran short of his good-will, he was known to sell his beloved books, that he might relieve the poor with the proceeds. Some of his books he gave to the Sorbonne, and amongst them an almost unique copy of the xylographic *Speculum humanæ salvationis* of Laurence Coster. Pierre Rouille, one of the Doctors of Sorbonne, was also a considerable benefactor at this period.[1]

The Sorbonne Library in the 18th century.

It was estimated that towards the middle of the eighteenth century the Sorbonne possessed nearly 30,000 printed volumes, and about 2000 MSS. But if this estimate (which does not at all agree with some nearly contemporary, or with later estimates,) be well founded, the losses of the Library during the forty years which preceded the Revolution must have much exceeded the accessions. When counted in 1791, the printed volumes were officially returned as 28,224. In the preceding year, the MSS. had been returned as 2,199.[2]

1 Franklin: *La Sorbonne, &c.*, 173.

2 Recensements détaillés, MSS. in the Nat. Archives, as cited by Franklin, *Anciennes Bibliothèques*, 299. Comp. *La Sorbonne, ses origines, &c.* (1875), 209, *seqq.* M. Franklin adds: "Another official document (other than that of 1790,

In August, 1791, the Library was taken possession of by the Municipality of Paris, "in conformity," says the official record, "with the orders of the Directory of the Department." In April, 1792, the Sorbonne was suppressed; but the Library continued to be kept apart, under the care of Hubert Paschal AMEILHON, as Municipal Librarian and Commissary, until the end of 1795. The MSS., with some few exceptions, were then sent to the National Library; the printed books were distributed amongst many libraries.

The buildings of the Sorbonne escaped both from revolutionary destruction and from revolutionary occupation. Under the Restoration, the old College was, for a short time, made a sort of Parisian Somerset House (as Somerset House used to be,) for literature and learning. Ultimately, it became the seat of the University of France. But the name long adhered. The new Library of the new University was, for more than a generation, known as "Library of the Sorbonne."

Early MSS. of the Sorbonne.

When, in 1796, the MSS. of the old Sorbonne came to the National Library, they included no less than thirty-nine volumes which were (by long-subsequent examination, and comparison of records) identifiable as among those of ROBERT, the Founder. Probably, there were and are other volumes of his, in the same repository, not now distinctly ascertainable. Of fifty-nine volumes recorded to have been given by a certain

which differed from the computation of 1791,) leads to the inference that the Doctors retracted their first return, and acknowledged the possession of about 36,000 volumes."—Ib., 210.

Canon ETIENNE, of Geneva, in the year 1320, forty-five have been similarly identified (by the unwearying labour of M. DELISLE, who, second to none in his ability and zeal to meet the needs and requirements of the students of to-day; delights, also, to make record, in worthy like-mindedness with them, of the patient scribes and liberal donors, monkish or other, of mediæval days—to "praise famous men; the literary fathers who begat us"); and many other like instances of mediæval gifts to the old Sorbonne which are still available for present study, might be noted, if need were.

These Sorbonne acquisitions of early date, together with the later ones which the famous College owed (though less directly) to the munificence of RICHELIEU, were classed together as "*Fonds de la Sorbonne.*" This arrangement subsisted until 1868, when (as I have had occasion to note before) the new and much improved system of a "LATIN SERIES" and a "FRENCH SERIES" was established. The sub-division "LATIN SERIES: *Sorbonne*" represents, pretty accurately, the mediæval Library of those somewhat rigid and rugged, combative and explosive old Doctors, who have left their deep mark in French History,—the secular as well as the literary and ecclesiastical,—and of whom so many individual men are still, in this nineteenth century, memorable and salient figures.

§ 2.—The Library, (founded by Petit de Montempuis); formerly of the University of Paris, now, of the University of France and its component Collections, of earlier and of later date.

Jugiter hic legere, meditari, inquirere posse,
Quid nisi celesti luce ciboque frui?
Nil homini melius quam si divina legendo
Figat ibi vitam quo sibi vita venit.
Lectio jugis alit virtutes, lucida reddit
Intima, declinat noxia, vana fugat.
Libros quosque lege quibus insunt pascua vite,
Quos tibi sit medicus continet iste locus,
Hic si proficis, hinc ingratus ne videaris,
Exi, sed inde libros, estia claude. . . . .
—Geffroi Du Jardin? [*Part of an Inscription in the Library of the Abbey of Bonfort, near Evreux.*]

PART I. CHAPTER IV. § 2—LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Gift of Petit de Montempuis to the University of Paris.

In the year 1763, the then Rector of the University of Paris, John Gabriel Petit de Montempuis, bequeathed to the University his private collection of Books, comprising about eight thousand volumes, together with an endowment for its increase, which in the six next following years seems to have produced a sum equivalent in present English money to about four hundred and eighty pounds. With this sum, a thousand and forty-six volumes were purchased.[1]

The buildings of the Jesuit College (at first called "*Collège de Clermont*"; afterwards "*Collège Louis-le-Grand*") were given to the University, as a Library, immediately after the bequest of Montempuis—on the suppression of the Society. With the gift of the buildings, but from another source—namely, by the benefaction of the representative of that Achilles De

1 Franklin: *Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, 303. The Founder's Will is printed at p. 313.

HARLAY, to whose bequest the Jesuit College owed the finest part of its Library—came a considerable augmentation of valuable books.

Library of the Jesuit College of Clermont.

The first groundwork of the Jesuits' Library had been laid in 1548 by the bequest of Jerome VARADE; increased three years later by that of the inheritor of the mediæval Library of Guillaume BUDE *(Budæus)*, Pierre DE SAINT-ANDRE. It thus came to pass that, long before the close of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits of the College of Clermont possessed one of the finest and largest Libraries then known to scholars. It could not, indeed, vie in manuscript wealth with the King's Library; but for University and Collegiate purposes it was far superior, as it was, even more conspicuously, in extent. In 1594, it had reached 20,000 volumes. Sixty years later, the Royal Library possessed a lesser number, counting MSS. and printed books together. Just as the Library of the Jesuits had become a feature in scholastic Paris; and something, perhaps, of a loadstar to foreign students, came the rude shock of their first dispersion.

In a subsequent address to the Parliament of Paris, the Jesuits represented that they "had two Libraries filled with the rarest and finest books in the World; they were our Arsenal, our Magazine, our Treasury. We were stripped of that wealth of books, to our bitter sorrow."[1]

The books were dispersed. Their receptacle was assigned to the Royal Library, but it continued in the

1 *Très humble Remontrance* des PP. Jésuites aux N. SS. du Parlement, &c. (1618).

Jesuit College somewhat less than a quarter of a century; then to be transferred to another conventual building, as I have told elsewhere.

On the re-establishment of the Jesuit Fathers in their old College, they obtained, as the basis of a new Library, part of the collection—then of note—which had been formed by Philip DESPORTES. Six years afterwards, Gabriel LALLEMANT bequeathed to them a Library, which included precious MSS.; and nearly at the same time, Jacques SIRMOND enriched his brethren with classical manuscripts, Greek and Latin, which in the course of his literary rambles on the Paris quais or their vicinity, he had been just in time to save from destruction for commercial uses. The famous FOUQUET was also a liberal benefactor to their Library. He gave them many books, together with an annuity of a thousand livres for purchases.

Benefactions of Lallemant, Sirmond, and Fouquet.

It is to the honour of the Community, that neither the fall of FOUQUET, nor the bitterness with which, in many ways, his memory was pursued, prevented them from keeping before all eyes a conspicuous tribute to him as their Benefactor. One of the first things that struck the attention of their visitors was the inscription—

"*L'illustre Fouquet a élevé cette Bibliothèque,*
et l'a dotée avec magnificence."

They added to their collection a fine Cabinet of Medals, which had been, in part, formed by SIRMOND, and which included, characteristically, a medal of the premature "CHARLES X." And their eminent member

of the years 1640-1681, Jean GARNIER, made the Library specially notable, in bibliothecal economy, for the new methodical arrangement which he gave to it, with much care and labour. He classed it in seven divisions, curious for the entire separation of orthodox Theology from heterodox Theology. Theology proper is his first class. "Heterodoxy" is his last class. Intermediately come the five classes: Philosophy; Medicine; Literature; History; Jurisprudence. Father GARNIER differs from all other Bibliographers, in making his division "HISTORY" embrace the Classificatory Sciences, together with the History of the Church; the History of Literature; and with Political Economy; together, also, with what we now call "Sociology." These two sub-divisions he unites under the heading "*Historia Artificialis.*" His sub-divisions amount, in all, to four hundred and sixty-one. They display (it need scarcely be said) great labour, thought, and ingenuity. And the *System*[1] will well repay study to the professional Librarian. The Mathematical Sciences he ranged under "Philosophy."

Garnier's Classification of the Jesuit Library.

The Community had not long been in possession of FOUQUET's benefaction, when the bequest of Achilles DE HARLAY put them in possession of nearly twenty-one thousand additional volumes.

It need scarcely be noted that the French Jesuits of that day (as indeed of most days) included in their number scholars,—great, laborious, often estimable; men who (with whatsoever of alloy) devoted brilliant ability and marvellous patience to theological learning,

1 GARNIER: *Systema Bibliotheca Coll. Parisiensis*, . . . (1678). It is reprinted, at length, in *Serapeum*, xi. App. 105-140.

but were by no means shut up to that choice of their field of labour for want of classical tastes or of classical acquisitions. Probably, few Libraries in Paris, or in Italy, were more diligently used than was, for a considerable period, the Library of that College of Clermont, which, in 1682, changed the name it had made famous for that of "College Louis-le-Grand."

"Their Library grows every day, and they take the greatest pains with it," is the passing note of MAROLLES, in his survey of the Paris Libraries of his time. It could now boast of about forty-seven thousand volumes of printed books, and about eight hundred and sixty of manuscripts.

Transfer of the Harlay Collection to the University of Paris.

When, in 1763, there came a second suppression, the representatives of the HARLAY family took the same course, with respect to the Library of this College, that was taken by the representatives of HUET, Bishop of Avranches, with reference to that of the Library of the Jesuits of the Rue St. Antoine. They claimed a return; and obtained it, so far as the HARLAY books could be identified, by arms, book-plates, or other marks of origin. The heirs then gave them to the University. Some other portions of the Library came also, it would seem, with the College buildings, to the same body. For we read in a decree of the Parliament of Paris, made on the 11th February, 1765[1]: "The Library [of the University] being placed in a hall adjacent to that in which the present Library of the

1 Cited by FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Bibl. de Paris*, iii. 310.

College is arranged, the union of the two Libraries will be the more easily effected [hereafter], should such an union be found desirable." The second Library here referred to was that of the re-organized College, but it seems to have inherited part [very many of the books of the former collection were certainly dispersed] of the Jesuit Library. The Libraries thus united by adjacency of place are often referred to collectively as "Library of the College Louis-le-Grand"; and they were together made public, in 1770, both for Frenchmen and for Foreigners.[1]

At this date, the conjoint collection comprised only 19,483 volumes of printed books, and five hundred and nine volumes of manuscripts. The number, it will be seen, does not equal that of the single bequest of HARLAY. The Jesuits, in fact, had anticipated their misfortune. On the eve of their suppression, they parted with many of their choicest book-treasures to a munificent book-lover, the Duke of LA VALLIERE, and so, in the event, secured the books for public enjoyment, whilst making provision with their proceeds for the maintenance, in exile, of laborious men, some of whom were working, and were to continue to work, usefully for Learning, though necessarily involved in the common fate of the members of their Fraternity,—of the worthy and of the unworthy alike. Their MSS. also came to public use, being added to those of the great Benedictine Community of St. Germain-in-the-Fields,—

1 "A tous les honnêtes citoyens, tant Français qu'Etrangers," are the words of the Order dated in 1768.

and so descending at last to the National Library of France.

The University did not imitate the example set by the book-loving Jesuits. The Library seems to have been almost stationary from 1771[1] to the date of the Revolution.[2] It was not suppressed, but it suffered many transformations, and had to contribute many a contingent, in course of time, to various newly-formed Libraries.

Subsequent vicissitudes of the University Library.

Thus, in 1800, it was laid under the contribution of a hundred and seventy-five choice volumes, towards the formation of the first of the Official Libraries of NAPOLEON. In 1804-5, two thousand three hundred and seventy-one volumes were transferred to the School of St. Cyr. Under King LOUIS-PHILIPPE, it contributed nearly twenty thousand volumes towards the Library of the re-organized "Normal School" of Paris.

Following the curious and rapid transformations of the Library under Napoleonic legislation, and under that of the Bourgeois-Monarchy, we find the Library designated, in 1799, as "Library of the National Prytaneum"; in 1808, as that of "the Four Lyceums"; in 1812, it is again "Library of the University of France"; in 1846, and for sixteen subsequent years, it is called "Library of the Sorbonne," and became strictly a Public Library; having theretofore been assigned to

1 It had received, in 1768, a new Catalogue by Bouhours; but this, I think, comprises the *College* books only; about two thirds of the whole.

2 The count of 1790 is almost identical with that of 1771. Cf. FRANKLIN: Tabular View of suppressed and re-organized Libraries, in *Anciennes Bibl.*, ut supra.

the use of members of the University, or of such other institution as for the time being had taken the place of the University. In 1862, it became once again University Library, but continued to be public.

Under all these changes, and notwithstanding its occasional diminution by transfers, it had grown rapidly. In 1847, we find the number of volumes returned officially as 39,451.[1] In 1849, the Annuaire of DIDOT assigns it 42,000 volumes.[2] The treatise, nearly contemporaneous, of MACAREL and BOULATIGNIER, "*De la Fortune Publique en France*,"[3] agrees with the Returns then obtained through our Ambassador at Paris, in stating the printed books at about 40,000 volumes, the manuscripts about 1000.[4]

And its succession of Librarians, from the Revolution downwards, contains not a few names eminent in Literature:—SERIEYS (1794); LAROMIGUIERE (1804); JOUFFROY (1837); BURNOUF (1840); PLANCHE (1844); LE BAS (1846); Leon RENIER (1860).

The two most notable acquisitions of recent years are those of two very notable benefactors—Victor LE CLERC and Victor COUSIN.

Benefaction of J. V. Le Clerc.

Joseph Victor LE CLERC, born at Paris in 1787, and educated at the College known under the Empire as *Lycée Napoleon*, there began his public career as Professor of Greek; and, in 1815, succeeded VILLEMAIN as

1 PHILIPPE LEBAS (Librarian of the Sorbonne): *Rapport au Ministre de l'Instruction Publique;* printed in *Journ. Gen.*, 7 Apr., 1847.

2 DIDOT: *Annuaire*, of 1849.

3 MACAREL, &c.: *De la Fortune Publique;* i. 477, *seqq.*

4 App. to *Report of Select Committee on Public Libraries;* printed in 1850.

Professor of Rhetoric at the Lycée Charlemagne; and filled several other Chairs with distinction, during the successive changes in the organization of Public Education in Paris which followed upon the various revolutions of government. His first publication was, I believe, an *Eloge de Montaigne;* soon followed by a *Chrestomathie Grecque* (1812), which has gone through many editions. His admirable edition of Cicero's complete works, in Latin and French, appeared between the years 1821 and 1825, and has been reprinted. His recension of the text of Cicero has become a standard for subsequent French editions of the author. The treatise *Des Journaux chez les Romains* is an exhaustive review of a subject full of interest and curiosity; and theretofore very imperfectly handled—by testimony of competent critics—in any country. This work appeared in 1838. M. Le Clerc evinced like ability in handling classical subjects, whether comparatively novel, as in this instance, or hackneyed by a thousand and one prior labourers, as in the "*Histoire du platonisme*," which, a few years earlier, he had prefixed to a reprint of his *Pensées de Platon* of 1818.

M. Le Clerc had, from an early period of his career, begun the formation of a Library, rich, as might be expected, in classics, and especially in the apparatus of Roman literature; well furnished, also, in the Literature of France, to the great Benedictine History of which he early became an extensive contributor; succeeding, eventually (1840), another eminent lover, writer, and collector of books, Daunou, in the chief editorship.[1]

1 Vapereau: *Dict. des Contemporaires,* § Le Clerc.

The important volume on the thirteenth-century literature, of 1856, is mainly his. He was also an extensive contributor, both to the *Biographie Universelle* of MICHAUD, and to the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* of DIDOT.

This fine Library amounted, at the date of the collector's death, to about 12,000, and was bequeathed entire to the University. At that time, M. LE CLERC's was by far the most considerable gift the University had yet received.[1]

Bequest of the Library of Victor Cousin.

It was followed, in 1867, by the noble benefaction of Victor COUSIN, eminent alike in Philosophy, in History, and in Criticism; eminent, not alone as author, as bibliographer, and as professor, but as publicist and senator; who has left a vast series of works, most of which seem likely to retain their hold upon public opinion for a long time to come; several of which mark epochs in the study of their several and richly-diversified subjects; though, in his last *Will*, he was pleased to subordinate the whole of them, viewed as the labours of a most industrious and indefatigable life, to that special labour of love, which he had, indeed, known how to interweave with them all—the collection of a great Library. *There*, he had found the refreshment and the renewal of energies which, at one time or other, had been tasked in almost every form of literary and of public toil,—and that at a period more than ordinarily severe, wearing, and exhaustive, even to

1 FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, iii. 312.

faculties more than commonly robust:—"I give to the Sorbonne," he wrote, not long before his death, "*my best Work*,—my Library."

These pithy and humble words are curiously corroborative of a pen-and-ink portrait, for which their writer sat, unconsciously, to a skilled artist, some years earlier (1859). "The most eloquent of our philosophers,—a great writer,—an unrivalled talker,—is, before all things else, a Connoisseur; nothing escapes his passion for collecting—Manuscripts, Printed Books, Prints, Pictures,—and wherever (in that quest) he sets foot, he is King. . . . . To-day, he has met with a wind-fall; and adieu to Philosophy.—He has found (only fancy it!) "*Zayde*," in the first edition; on large paper; uncut; a copy really unique;—and bound in lemon-coloured morocco!"

V. Cousin as a Collector.

Some famous incidents in the professional career of M. COUSIN have been made familiar to many readers, who do *not* read Lectures on, or Histories of, Philosophy, by being told in the vivid pages of a popular historian, M. Louis BLANC, who, at a more recent date, shared COUSIN'S early democratic enthusiasm, without ever, in the least, sharing his later and deeper conservative wisdom. One of those incidents must needs have a word or two, because it became an event in the History of the Sorbonne,—in the annals of halls which had rung with the glowing words of great speakers and teachers, laid in earth five or six centuries before the utterance (1827) of that brilliant sketch of a sort of universal history, from the point of view of an ardent publicist (uttered by way of an "Introduction to the

Cousin's influence on the Revolution of 1830.

study of Philosophy,") which served as a war-cry to a band of youthful assailants upon an unpopular Ministry; and which had an incontestable share in bringing about alike the Revolution of July, and the very needful Conservative checks and curbs upon that Revolution, which placed "1832" in such striking contrast with "1830." And there was no inconsistency; unless growth be an inconsistency of youth. For that impassioned oration of 1827 is in nothing more notable, than in its glorification of Monarchy,—of Monarchy guided by prudent counsellors, and restrained by real, not seeming, franchises.

A list of the eminent men whose formative period was largely influenced by the teachings of COUSIN, would be a list singularly varied, and would be scarcely a less notable tribute to his powers than would be a list of his own writings—were this the place for either. It would include men as diversified in their careers, and in their own influence on the new generation, as the philosopher and historian, DAMIRON—whose series of portraits of men of the eighteenth century makes so curious a pendant and contrast to his early master's series of women of the seventeenth;—and that famous preacher, Abbé CŒUR, whom some have ventured to characterize as "the St. Cyprian of the nineteenth century." It would also include younger men of great promise, cut off in their prime, but nevertheless influential, too, in their measure, such as the young FARCY, who fell at the barricades of July;—who received from SAINTE-BEUVE a biographical portrait, which has its place in classic French prose; and to whom COUSIN

paid the crowning honour of dedicating to his memory the best text and the best French version of the *Dialogues* of PLATO. Of such a stamp were many of the men bred in "the Sorbonne," of the early years of this century.

The Conservative Peer of France (born in 1792) was the son of a watchmaker, and was the brilliant student, prizeman, and medallist, of the Lycée Charlemagne. Reversing the course of his fellow-benefactor of the Sorbonne, LE CLERC, the successful scholar of the Charlemagne Lyceum became, for a time, the popular professor of the Napoleon Lyceum; and the man who, during the "Hundred Days," took his spell of service in the Royal Volunteers, had presently (1824) the curious fate of being imprisoned first at Dresden and afterwards at Berlin, for a suspected (but very fictitious) "carbonarism." Like so many other famous men, COUSIN knew how to pluck the rose "progress" out of the nettle "danger." He acquired at Berlin a more thorough knowledge of German philosophy than probably would have been possible to him, but for that annoying adventure. Those German studies rendered brilliant service to his future career. And I venture to think (remembering what I have read, years ago, of documents which came from COUSIN's pen on Public Education) that, even at so early a date, he learned something in Prussia on educational subjects,—nothing can rob Prussia of its due and large meed of honour in that field,—which was not without its influence in procuring for him the later official Mission, and what grew out of

that, and so helped to shape the official action of the future Minister of Public Instruction in France. Prior to the eventful journey of 1824, COUSIN had had but a brief glimpse of Germany.

The early courses of Philosophy, of 1817 and the subsequent years, did not appear in print until 1836, when they were published under the editorship of M. Adolphe GARNIER. And there is nothing, in its kind, more instructive than to compare that work of 1836 with its new recension, as it came from the author's own mind,—ripened, matured, purified, Christianized, —in 1853.

The literary labours of Victor Cousin.

The first actual publications of a man who was to become as conspicuously a marvel of laboriousness and of erudition, as of intellectual versatility, were those of an Editor:—*Proclus* (1820-27); *Plato* (1825-40); *Descartes* (1826); appeared in rapid succession, and with admirable apparatus and introductions; though, as respects Plato, the illustrative matter of the first intention remains unfinished. In a like field of labour followed *Abelard* (1836); and the *Pensées de Pascal* (1842); more than once reprinted; and which—although itself much improved afterwards in the recension of FAUGERE —may not unfitly be called a *Princeps* edition of a French classic, published about 200 years after the author's death. It is familiar to all students of French Literature—but there is never any harm in reiterated tribute to weighty and pregnant labours—that the last-named publication, preceded, as it had been, by remarkable articles in the *Journal des Savants*—did much

more than restore to purity the text of a great French classic. It aroused attention, at once,—as iteration from less honoured lips would hardly have done,—to the current evils of perfunctory and unfaithful editing of the worthies of old time.

Two other distinctive fields of exertion must have brief mention:—The official missions into Holland and into Germany, under LOUIS PHILIPPE, had, for their administrative result, fruitful labours in political and cabinet office; and for literary result, the treatise *De l'Instruction Publique en Hollande*, of 1837; and that *De l'Instruction Publique dans quelques pays de l'Allemagne, et particulièrement en Prusse*, of 1840. Very few years after the last-named date was begun that long and memorable series of *Etudes sur les Femmes et la Société du XVII^e Siécle*, which are so notable, not alone as instructive and delightful reading, but as powerful correctives to the prevalent depreciation of the old France. This latest group of books continued to enlarge itself, almost until the death of a great thinker, a great student, and an actor of no small puissance on the stage of public affairs; whose whole life—long, rich, and varied as it was—has its ever-recurring points of contact with the "Sorbonne,"—as he loved to call his University to the last,—and whose final act makes him, of itself, immortal on the long Roll of its book-loving Benefactors, extending—under varied collegiate transformations—from the thirteenth century to the nineteenth.

§ 3.—The Library of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Germain-in-the-Fields.

> For almost a hundred and fifty years, the German Public had profited by that thorough and comprehensive instruction which the Maurists of Paris had drawn from old MSS., and had imparted in several immortal works; . . . . . and especially by their *System of Diplomatics* (which Adelung and others had made more useful still by translating it into German), . . . with its vast series of examples of every sort of Writing, extended over a thousand years. Men wondered to see so interminable a crowd of acquisitions to knowledge won,—arranged,—methodized,—illustrated with thousands of specimens;—and all within one generation.
>
> —Jaeck: *Die Bambergische Bibliothek*, 2r Th., pp. 47 *seqq.*

> . . . . . As to the *Utility* of Monasticism . . . . . passing over—here, and for the present, that supreme utility (supreme in the eyes of every consistent Christian) of Prayer, of the life hidden with God; of that puissant and unceasing intercession by Prayer, always ascending from earth to Heaven, let us come down to that lower level which is occupied by those who always keep their eyes fixed upon earth; always chained down to the things that are passing, and the things that bring gain. Let us ask all such to point, in the Annals of the World, to any body, any institution, ... which has, at any time, rivalled, even remotely, with those Monasteries which were, for more than ten centuries, the Schools, the Archives, the Libraries, the Hotels, the Workshops, ... of Christian Society.
>
> —Montalembert: *Les Moines d'Occident*, Intr. cxxv.

The Abbey of St. Germain-in-the-Fields was probably the oldest Monastic Foundation of Paris. Its first Church dates from the middle of the sixth century; having been originally dedicated to St. Vincent the Martyr by Childebert I. An early Christian poet has celebrated the beauty of that infant Church, in verses which are still remembered. Towards the close of his reign, Childebert, with the co-operation of his consort Ultrogotha, gave the Church to a Community of Benedictines, established under the headship of St. Germain, formerly Abbot of Symphorien at Autun, whose name became, in the event, the name of the Abbey.[1]

1 Montalembert: *ut sup.*, ii. 231.

The subsisting records give very little information about the origin and growth of the Library, which must have been of great importance at an early date. There is evidence, on the face of a long series of manuscripts which are now preserved in the National Library, that, at all events, from the eleventh century down to the sixteenth, it had many liberal benefactors; many book-loving Abbots; many laborious scribes. These scribes and the Abbey-Librarians have made many an entry on the fly-leaves of their books, of the sense they entertained that the Monk of St. Benedict had no duty, next after that supreme duty of which MONTALEMBERT has spoken so weightily, in the few lines I have placed at the head of this section, more incumbent on him than the duty of study, and of providing and diffusing the means of study.[1] The earlier labours (of a secular sort) of faithful Benedictines had, before the twelfth century, fallen very much into other hands, by change of circumstance, and by the very fruitfulness of those labours themselves. The labours of the Scriptorium had become, in course of time, more imperative, more pregnant with good, than the wonted labours of field and garden and orchard.

Often, these new maxims are expressed in verse—inartistic, but instructive. And other like entries often commemorate the donation and the transcription of books by men elsewhere unregistered. The givers of MSS. in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are many. And not a few of the gifts are still serviceable to readers and students of the nineteenth century.

1 DELISLE: *Le Cabinet des MSS. de la Bibl. Nationale*, ii. 41, *seqq.*

There is evidence, too, that these Benedictines of St. Germain's made their Library a Public one, as early as in the twelfth century. Students had, at that date, access to it, as well for borrowing as for consultation.[1]

In the fifteenth century came the period—too usual in annals such as these—of lassitude, indolence, and corruption. When the invading Northmen had come to St. Germain's, burning and ravaging, after their fashion, seven hundred years before, they found a Library and destroyed it. When, in 1513, Guillaume BRIÇONNET came to the Abbacy, he had almost to lay over again the very foundation of a Library.

With the remnant of the ancient Collection, and on the basis of the improved arrangements introduced by BRIÇONNET, a long line of laborious and faithful Monks worked successively and zealously in its enlargement. Amongst them: Jean Jacques DU BREUL, Grégoire SARISSE, Jean DARTIS, Jean Luc D'ACHERY, Robert MOREL, David Placide PORCHERON, and Nicolas CAMUSAT, deserve honourable memory. D'ACHERY—the Father, in the Congregation of St. Maur, of restored Monastic studies, as he has been justly called—added to other services a good Catalogue. PORCHERON added the beginning of a Cabinet of Medals. St. Germain's had already shared with its neighbour-Abbeys of St. Victor and St. Geneviève the gift of a vast collection of Prints, formed by ACCART,—so large and so valuable, as well to bear sub-division; and it is to this day a store-house for students and artists.

The Maurist Restorers of Learning at St. Germain's.

As early as in the year 1557, the Library had been

1 DELISLE: *Le Cab. des MSS., &c.*, ii. 43.

re-arranged in a new edifice, built expressly for its reception.[1] In 1638 it received, by way of deposit, a series of MSS. from the Abbey of Corbie in Picardy. How that collection of Corbie had been formed, has been noticed already.

Bequest of the Library and Geographical Collections of Baudraud.

The closing year of the seventeenth century brought with it the bequest of a Library, said (on contemporary but, I think, doubtful authority) to have contained nearly eleven thousand volumes,[2] collected by the famous geographer, Michel Antoine BAUDRAUD, together with an unrivalled series of maps and charts, and with his manuscripts—original and collected. BAUDRAUD had imbibed his ardent love of geography in early youth, when employed by a tutor in the task of correcting the proof-sheets of a certain *Parallela Geographiæ veteris et novæ*, which the boy-corrector was soon to supersede, by compiling a work that remains, to this day, the best of its kind. His education completed, he made a tour through Germany, Italy, and Britain; gathering, by the way, every accessible atlas, map, and topographical plan, of value, that he could lay hands upon. This collection became the groundwork of his *Dictionnaire géographique et historique.*

Gifts of Pascal MSS. and transcripts.

In the year 1715, by the gift of Jean GUERRIER, the Abbey was enriched with many valuable transcripts of the papers of PASCAL; specially valuable, because to read the originals requires a preliminary education, the

1 DELISLE: *Le Cab. des MSS., &c.*, ii. 43.

2 It seems to me probable that this was the number, or approximate number, of *works*, rather than of volumes. The account given in M. Franklin's *Anciennes Bibliothèques* is vague.

hand of the great mathematician and writer being almost equal to NAPOLEON's in illegibility. GUERRIER had been entrusted with the originals by PASCAL's niece, Marguerite PERIER. By the Abbé PERIER, an autograph MS. of the *Pensées* seems to have been given, almost contemporaneously.

History of Pascal's Papers.

The history of PASCAL's papers is curiously involved. Some of them were given by Abbé PERIER to the Oratorians of Clermont; and others, at a later date, by Marguerite PERIER. And some of his own transcripts were by GUERRIER given also to Clermont, as were others of them, by his nephew, after the transcriber's death. Most of the Pascal MSS. that came thus to Clermont appear to have come, eventually, into the possession of M. BALLAIGNE, and by him were communicated to M. FAUGERE, for the excellent edition of the *Pensées* which appeared in 1844.[1] This recurrence and involution of the same names, as donors alike to Clermont and to St. Germain's, appears to have led M. FRANKLIN to state (following, too, an oversight of Dom TASSIN,[2] the learned historian of the Maurists) that GUERRIER, "having obtained from Mme. PERIER the autograph MSS. of PASCAL, gave *them* to St. Germain's, retaining only, for himself, the autograph of the *Pensées*."[3] This is, certainly, a double error. FAUGERE's testimony on the point cannot be questioned. The transcripts so laboriously made by GUERRIER, are said to amount to 300 in number. One original MS.,

1 PASCAL: *Pensées:* by Faugère; Introd., 43, 47, 51.
2 TASSIN: *Hist. littér. de la Congr. de St. Maur*, p. 786.
3 FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, i. 114.

at least, of PASCAL's is preserved in another Library at Clermont,—that of the Town.[1] And there is, I observe, a Pascal volume in the rich Library of Troyes; but that is probably a transcript.

Gifts of the Library of Archbishop D'Estrées;

In 1718, Jean D'ESTREES, Archbishop-elect of Cambray, gave the Library which he had inherited from his uncle, Cardinal César D'ESTREES, who had himself been Abbot of St. Germain's, and was, at the date of his death, the Father of the French Academy. This collection abounded in works on French History. Its acquisition at St. Germain's was speedily followed (Sept., 1720) by that of the Library of Eusèbe RENAUDOT, the Orientalist, and grandson of the founder of the *Gazette de France*, which contained about nine thousand volumes of printed books, and a large series of manuscripts,—Greek, Latin, and Oriental. Together, these accessions made the Library of St. Germain's one of the most important in Paris. And it was soon to be still further increased by the several collections of the Chancellor SEGUIER (in great part); of the Cardinal Louis POTIER DE GESVRES; and of Achille DE HARLAY, third of his name.

and of that of E. Renaudot.

The now famous Abbey had already, and had for a long time, become the head-quarters of those widespread researches and labours of the Maurist Benedictines, which have given fame to their Congregation, and have conferred on France, along with many admirable works of History, the sources and feeders

1 PASCAL: *Pensées*, ut sup. (Fougère's *Intr.*, p. 55).

whence are sure to come many more. To promote labours so fruitful, it became, in course of time, the practice with other Houses of the St. Maur Congregation to send many of their MSS. to St. Germain's, as to the place where they would be of most use to Learning. The richness of its printed Library enabled the St. Germain's Monks to give, in return, useful printed books. In this way, the Parisian Community drew store of MSS. from Bec, and from other provincial Abbeys; from the White-Hoods *(Blanc-Manteaux)* of Paris; and from the Priory of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

The Library of the Chancellor Séguier.

The Chancellor SEGUIER began to collect MSS. before the year 1630. By 1640, he had got together nearly sixteen hundred volumes. When the troubles and dangers of the Fronde drove him from Paris, his severance from his beloved books was anguish to him. It is the ever-recurring theme of his letters, and the lawyer gets, at length, to write with all a poet's glow. Take, for instance, this passage to his Librarian: . . . . "I do not doubt your fidelity. But a lover has always somewhat of uneasiness about the object of his passion. I am not yet mortified" [in seclusion] "to a degree which can lessen my affection for my books. On the contrary, my love grows with absence." When peace was restored, the Chancellor's correspondence tells of large agencies at home and abroad. For Greek MSS. he was especially ardent. And his attention was (as I have had to mention heretofore) early turned to the

Monasteries of the Nitrian Desert, as well as to other Communities of the Levant.[1]

SAUVAL, the Historian of Paris, describes SEGUIER'S Library as being placed (charmingly placed, as all book-lovers will think who are also of BACON'S mind as to the true rank of gardens, among the innocent delights of human life,) between two gardens, arranged in long galleries, everywhere looking out amongst turf, and trees, and flowers.[2] One extensive gallery was wholly occupied by works of History. The other classes of Literature and Science occupied three large rooms. The Greek MSS., "bought from the Caloyers of Mount Athos," are mentioned by SAUVAL as a conspicuous feature in the contents of another large hall, the remaining space of which was filled with MSS. in Arabic, Syriac, Chaldee, and Hebrew, chiefly acquired at Alexandria. "All these works," he adds, (echoing, no doubt, opinions which he had heard fall from more learned lips,) "are well-selected, well-conditioned, and well-bound."

Another contemporary bears testimony to the Chancellor's exemplary liberality in permitting, at that early date, the free accessibility of his collection: "To the

1 Magy, a merchant of Marseilles, writes to him (Oct., 1646): . . . "I have been apprised of Your Excellency's desire to have lists of the manuscripts of the Convent of St. Macaire, and of other Egyptian Monasteries. I am delighted to have the opportunity of testifying the gratitude of myself and of the other poor merchants. I have written by way of Leghorn, to my Factor in Egypt, directing him to take all possible means to obtain for you the said works and Lists of Manuscripts."—*Séguier MS. Corresp.* in Bibl. Nat. Paris (printed by Delisle, *Cab. des MSS.*, ii. 87).

2 SAUVAL: *Mém. sur les Hôtels;* as cited by LE ROUX DE LINCY: *Recherches*, 123.

Chancellor's Library, both rich and poor go to study."[1]

When it came to be appraised, for testamentary purposes, after the Collector's death (1672), the MSS. were estimated at 56,557 livres;[2] equal, I suppose, to somewhat more than £9000 of present English money. They descended to the Chancellor's grandson, Henri Charles de CAMBOUT DE COISLIN, Archbishop of Metz, under whose auspices the work of MONTFAUCON, so memorable in bibliographic annals, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, appeared in 1715. During its progress, MONTFAUCON gives the Archbishop, from time to time, some account of those of its contents which were more than usually notable as additions to previous knowledge. Amongst documents of this class, he signalizes: (1,) A list of the works of Severus of Antioch, of the fifth century; (2,) Fragments of the works, themselves, of that Writer, of which not one twentieth part, he says, were previously extant; (3,) Canons and Minutes of Councils, equally new to the learned.

When the Archbishop bequeathed this noble Library to the Maurists of St. Germain's, he might well say (May, 1731): "I am assured you will make of it a good use, both for the Church and for the State." I have told, elsewhere, how it has come to pass that, whilst so much of the Séguier-Coislin collection adorns the National Library of France, other and rich portions of it have to be sought in London and at St. Petersburgh. The accomplished DE BREQUIGNY was astonished

1 *Rimaille sur les Bibliothèques de Paris.*

2 Of this sum, the Greek MSS., about 400 in number, are entered for 12,851 livres.

when, during his visit to London, he saw the SEGUIER volumes of the Harleian Collection, of which, till then, there had been no word in Paris. Part of the Chancellor's correspondence is preserved in the Library of the Institute of France, of which, in his capacity of member and protector of the Academy, he may be looked upon as a sort of Ancestor.

The Gesvres Collection.

The books of the Cardinal DE GESVRES, Archbishop of Bourges, were, with the liberal spirit so characteristic of the great Ecclesiastics of France of all ages, accompanied by an express provision for public access.

The MSS. of the De Harlay Family.

The strength of the HARLAY Collection of MSS. lay in the classes "*Jurisprudence*" and "*History of France.*" Its foundation had been laid by the first Achille DE HARLAY, President of the Parliament of Paris, and great-grandfather of the giver; it was increased by Christopher DE HARLAY, who had been Ambassador in England, and had, it is probable, made some literary acquisitions here. It was also increased by his son, ACHILLE II. It included MS. collections of the BELLIEVRE family and of the Attorney-General SERVAN. For the most part, it had been kept in the family seat at Gros-bois.[1] The Maurist-historian, Dom TASSIN, dates the gift in 1762; M. DELISLE, in 1755. It was made by the heir of the long line of the DE HARLAYS, M. DE CHAUVELIN, then Minister of Foreign Affairs. The MSS. were 1559 in number.[2]

1 DELISLE: *Le Cabinet des MSS., &c.*, ii. 100-103.

2 I think this to be the correct number. It so occurs in my authorities once, and once as 1659.

In the year 1767, a collection of MSS. which had belonged to the ecclesiastical historian, Le Nain DE TILLEMONT, was given to St. Germain's by its then possessor, M. de FREMONT D'AUNEUIL. And, nearly at the same time, the Library was enriched with a series of historical transcripts which had been made, originally, for FOUQUET,—whose name occurs with such curious frequency in bibliothecal annals.

So that, at this period, a series of gifts, some of them so truly prince-like, had put the Benedictines of St. Germain's in possession of a Library very large, for the time, yet much less notable for its extent, than for its choiceness, and for the noble uses to which it had been turned, both by collectors and by inheritors.

Of its then forty-five thousand volumes, more than five thousand were manuscripts; and of the manuscripts, not a few were almost priceless. According to LEROUGE, the author of the book entitled *Curiosités de Paris*, nearly a thousand of them ranged in date from the sixth century to the ninth.[1] Almost every great historical work produced in France during the last century, and not a few classical and theological works of mark, owe part of their value to the stores of St. Germain's.

The suppression of the Community at the Revolution.

When these Benedictines came, at length, under the sway of Revolutionists, they shared the common fate. The ruling spirits of the hour respected Historians as little as they respected Chemists. A BOUQUET, indeed, would probably have won even less favour and less

1 It would be safer, probably, to read tenth?

mercy than a LAVOISIER. For they were on the eve of finding out that Chemists *were* wanted.[1] History, as LACORDAIRE has so truly said, is "much hated."[2] And it is hated by none so intensely,—unless they be permitted to fashion it for themselves,—as by Revolutionists and by Socialists;—by the men of blood, and by the men of dreams. The Revolution dispersed the Monks. The Library was retained, and was permitted to continue open to the Public. But under characteristic conditions: A magazine of saltpetre was lodged on its basement floor. And a large quantity of charcoal was stored up hard by.

And thus it came to pass, that the PACHES[3] of that day, and their congeners, were presently spared all trouble, either (1) in providing tumbrils to remove so large a stock of books to the municipal "depôts"; or

1 The Reader will remember the answer given to the representation, made by a friend of Lavoisier to his gaolers, that a delay of some days in his execution might enable the great Chemist to complete some important experiments.

2 "There is nothing in the world more cordially hated than is History; oppressors of the people and enemies of God strive for nothing more strenuously than for the destruction of History. . . . . They surround their victim with all the apparatus of intimidation. But Publicity is strongest." . . . . . —(Lacordaire's *Conferences à Notre Dame.*) No doubt the germ of these striking sentences, which rang through the aisles of Notre Dame, lies in the famous passage of Chateaubriand on "the Cæsar" in the splendour of the throne, and the Tacitus in an obscure corner of the Empire;—but they bear Lacordaire's own mint-mark, nevertheless; and the spirit of the passage, the force of the central truth in it, is now seen more vividly in relation to the Communist and Terrorist enemies of the Past, the Present, and the Future, than ever it can have been seen in relation to Imperialist oppression. No observant student, in these days (who looks on things from the Christian point of view), can have failed to note that revolutionist oppressors and haters of Christianity wield forces more terrible, and have an organization more ramified, and far more secret, than were ever wielded by any oppressive monarch upon earth; and they use them more unscrupulously.

3 See, in the next Section, the account of the dealings of the Municipals with St. Victor's Library.

(2) in providing funds for the maintenance of a Library, containing books so distasteful; or (3) in the divesting title-pages, dedications, and bindings of those armorial bearings, mitres, coronets, and other emblems or insignia, which were more distasteful still. The magazine exploded in August, 1794—the month which made so deep a mark in the annals of "The Reign of Terror."

Partial destruction of St. Germain's Library.

Only a few days before the occurrence of a catastrophe so strictly consecutive, some worthy precursor or other of the Communists of 1871, but, even during the Reign of Terror, somewhat in advance of his own Age, had been heard to recommend the burning down of a more famous Library. The Library of the Rue Richelieu, said this advanced politician of the pavement, has been a very long time "sullied" by its name of "*Bibliothèque* DU ROI."[1] Even the Convention of '94 was struck by the occurrence of so striking a commentary, in August, upon words spoken, perhaps, in July. It enacted that, thenceforth, no magazines of gunpowder or of saltpetre should be placed close to Public Libraries.

French MSS. at St. Petersburgh, partly derived from St. Germain's Library.

Visitors to St. Petersburgh are wont, at times, to express surprise at the great number of choice MSS. bearing the Royal arms and insignia of France, which are shewn in its Imperial Library. They see there *Prayer-Books* of JANE of Burgundy, of LEWIS XII., of MARY STUART. French Romances are shewn to them,

1 I have quoted my authorities at length in Part III., in the Memoir of the National Library, and have alluded to the discussion which occurred about it, but the other day.

which once belonged to LOUISA of Savoy, or to ANNE of Britanny; and classical MSS., precious alike for their contents, and for their calligraphy, which CATHERINE of Medicis had brought with her from Tuscany into France. They behold, in Russia, a series of French Charters of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries; with a multitude of Royal Letters and of State Papers of later date. Very naturally, they wonder how so many of the literary treasures of old France reached St. Petersburgh. Some of them passed into Russian hands on that August night of 1794, when Paris was suddenly alarmed by loud explosions, and lighted up by the flames of a noble mediæval Abbey. Others, it is believed, had been already stolen from the Library at or about the time of the revolutionary inventorizing of '91.

For, not long before the partial destruction, the contents of St. Germain's Library had been summarily enumerated. Its printed books were then found to be 49,387 volumes. Its Oriental Manuscripts were six hundred and thirty-four volumes. The Greek Manuscripts were four hundred and fifty-two. The Latin, a thousand six hundred and forty-four. The French, two thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. All these numbers of MSS. are exclusive of the Harlay Collection, which, in all classes, comprised 1559 volumes more; so that the total number of MSS., according to the count of 1791, amounted to seven thousand and seventy-two.[1]

1 *Etat général des Livres des Maisons Ecclés.;* MSS. in Archives of France; summarized in FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Bibl.*, ut supra, i. 124, *seqq.*

But the real number exceeded *eight* thousand volumes; the difference being mainly occasioned by the omission, in the return made by the delegates of the National Assembly, of those many manuscripts and manuscript-collections, chiefly on the History, civil and ecclesiastical, of France, which were in actual use for the literary labours of the Maurist Monks.

At the fire of 1794 there were, of course, many persons present, who strove to save the books and other contents of the Abbey. Some of the helpers threw a large number of volumes into neighbouring cellars. These, as it seems, were mostly recovered for France by the indefatigable and self-denying labours, for months together, amidst dirt, damp, and noisome exhalations, of men like the Benedictine Dom POIRIER, and the bibliographer VAN PRAET. Other volumes, and some of the choicest, fell into the hands of a Secretary of the Russian Embassy, Peter DUBROWSKI, who had already, as appears by conclusive proof, made considerable collections at the taking of the Bastille, and probably on other occasions.[1]

MSS. from St. Germain at St. Petersburgh.

Despite repeated researches, there remains not a little mystery about the circumstances of these successive depredations. POIRIER himself has left autograph notes which point to early and leisurely theft, for they shew that, in some cases, the contents of a precious volume were taken out, and something comparatively worthless inserted into the old binding; so that the loss was un-

1 Count Hector de LA FERRIERE: *Rapp. sur les recherches faites à la Bibl. Impér. de St. Petersb.;* printed in the *Archives des Missions Scientifiques,* Série II., tom. ii., pp. 373, *seqq.;* tom. iii., pp. 1, *seqq.* (1865-66).

perceived until after close search. LEPRINCE, the historian of the National Library, has also put on record (in a MS. note) a current rumour of the day, that on occasion of the fire of '94, some of the choicest MSS. of St. Germain's fell into the hands of "BROWISKI, a Pole," who sent them for sale to St. Petersburgh.[1] It is known, on other evidence, that some of them were shewn and offered for purchase in London, soon after the catastrophe.

The superb Library had been lodged in a building worthy of its contents. It was far from being the only collection, for public use, which did honour alike to Benedictine learning and to Benedictine munificence, and which had become a "cynosure," not to "neighbouring eyes" only. Here, Bernard DE MONTFAUCON had laid the foundation of a Museum of Antiquities, which his successors had enriched. Here, other Maurists had formed a valuable Museum of Natural History.

Notable Librarians of St. Germain.

Among its Librarians, besides those whom I have mentioned already, were MONTFAUCON himself, Denis DE ST. MARTHE, and Martin BOUQUET. Many of the historical and some of the theological books which have done conspicuous honour to France, were written in the Library, and in the cells, of St. Germain's. It is the crowning distinction of the Benedictines of St. Maur, that, illustrious as they are in Literature, they are not less illustrious in Religion. Nowhere can the duties, the charities, and the devotion, of a true Monastic life, have been more faithfully observed, than they

1 MSS. in Bibl. Nat. cited by DELISLE: *Le Cab. des MSS.*, tom. ii., p. 48.

were by very many of the men whose labours, as authors and editors, have made them for ever memorable. If, in some particulars, the ancient Benedictine discipline came, in a changed world, to be relaxed or modified, the best purposes for which that discipline was established were but the more fully attained.

§ 4.—The Library of the Augustinian Abbey of St. Victor.

> "I never enter into a large Library without feeling my mind surprised into reverential awe, as if in the presence of a great Assembly of Men, renowned for . . . talents and virtue.
> —*Dialogues in a Library*, p. 2.

> Men of ordinary literary hardihood look over the dusty and solemn ranks of learned works in a great . . . . Library, as an invincible *Terra incognita*. They gaze on the letter'd latitude and altitude, as they would gaze on the inaccessible shore of some great Island, bounded on all sides with a rocky precipice.
> But Bishop Huet gives the example of a man having no such sensations—submitting and retiring—at sight of the most formidable masses of Literature. There was no point where he had the smallest fear of not being able to make an entrance, and a lodgment, and to extend his researches and conquests; . . . . while the common tribe of scholars . . . stand at distance, gazing and confounded.
> —*Fosteriana*, p. 81.

The Library of St. Victor does not connect itself so directly with the literary history of France, as does that of St. Germain-in-the-Fields. But few Libraries could point to a longer list of the visits of famous students, mediæval and modern; of famous book-lovers, who delighted to see fine books, finely lodged, and richly accompanied. For at St. Victor's, a man could see a collection of engraved portraits of the writers of the books he came to consult, scarcely to be equalled, even in Paris; and he found himself, even more directly and literally, in the actual presence of an "Assembly of renowned men," than the *Dialogist* of my epigraph could well have realized, by dint of abstraction and meditation. The visitor to the Library of St. Victor's saw not only choice books, in a choice building, but above the books he saw in long line, and in artistic

beauty, both of sculpture, of position, and of adornment, the busts of the great Authors of all ages. And in those monastic halls, in later days, it was also the practice to invite the Parisian public to listen to an annual oration on the advantages of Public Libraries.

Early history of the Abbey of St. Victor.

The foundation of the famous Abbey of St. Victor dates from the year 1113. It has a connection with the controversies of Realists and Nominalists, so eventful in that day, and which retain something more than a merely historical interest in our own. When the star of WILLIAM of Champeaux was paling before the meteor-like displays of his great rival, he left the cloisters of Notre-Dame, and established himself in what was then a little "Chapel of St. Victor," which he soon expanded into an Abbey of Augustinians. Scarcely had he obtained a Charter from LEWIS VI. for the new foundation, when he was removed to Châlons-sur-Marne as Bishop; and his disciple GILDUIN became first Abbot of St. Victor. The Abbey prospered as a great School of Theology. Before the century expired, it possessed a Library of note; it had its offshoots or dependant "halls"; it claimed to have educated seven cardinals, six bishops, and two archbishops; and to have sent to other Communities fifty-four eventual abbots. And its Library was already—although in only a restricted sense—public. "*Ad usum fratrum et pauperum scholarium*" is an expression repeatedly occurring in connection with books in the *Necrology*. In mentioning this fact, M. FRANKLIN (an exhaustive historian of the Monastic Parisian Libraries) adds:

"I have met with no indication of this kind in the Necrologies of the two great Abbeys contemporaneous with St. Victor,—those of St. Germain-in-the-Fields, and of St. Geneviève."[1]

Beginnings of its Library.

In the following century, the benefactions to the growing Library were numerous. Amongst the donors are Queen BLANCHE of Castile, mother of St. LEWIS, CATHERINE d'Alençon, and a nephew of Pope GREGORY IX. In the list appears also an Englishman, GERVASE, who gave some books, historical and biblical. The gift of a splendid *Bible*, in French, is recorded in 1336. By the close of the next century, the collection had become so large as to need a new building, new classification, and new catalogues; for the good Monk, Claude DE GRANDRUE, who had then become Librarian, knew enough of his calling and his duties to make *two* catalogues: one alphabetical, and the other according to subjects. The former may still be seen in the Mazarine Library, and the latter in the National.

It is pleasant to note, in the long list of acquisitions, one of the earliest of printed books, acquired immediately on its publication, and in its choicest form. About 1460, the Monks sent twelve gold crowns to Peter SCHOEFFER and Johann FUST, and received, in return, a vellum copy of the *Epistolæ S. Hieronymi*.[2] Such a beginning seems to have been fairly well followed up. Under FRANCIS I., the Library of St. Victor

1 FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, i. 153.

2 *Necrologium S. Victoris*, as quoted by FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, i. 148.

had acquired the reputation of being the best collection in France.

A worthy Prior, Jean LE MASSE (who died in 1458,) deserves special mention for his zeal in enriching the Library. More than a hundred manuscripts may yet be seen in the National Library of France which were either transcribed or purchased during his single term of office at St. Victor's.[1]

The mediæval statutes provide for a periodical stock-taking, twice in the year. They also provide for a special collection for the service of the sick Monks in the Infirmary. And in other particulars they indicate, not only a strong love of learning, but a spirit of earnest devotion, and of Christian charity and tenderness; of care for the Public at large.

Grandrue's arrangement and Catalogue 1508-1514.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Canon above-mentioned, Claude DE GRANDRUE, not only catalogued and re-classed the MSS., but also arranged nine hundred and ninety of them on fifty-seven desks, so that here again the Monastic appliances for devout study before the close of the "Dark Ages," considerably excel a good many instances of Library-Economy with which we are all familiar in this Age. His Catalogue is a model in its kind. An eminent palæographer pronounces it to be unquestionably superior, on the whole, to many modern Catalogues, which nevertheless, in his judgment, are themselves excellent.[2]

DE GRANDRUE'S arrangement subsisted, it seems—in the main—until the last century. It is also a notable

1 DELISLE: *Le Cab. des MSS.*, tom. ii., pp. 209, *seqq.*

2 DELISLE: tom. ii., pp. 227, *seqq.*

feature in the economy of St. Victor's Abbey, that the Librarian sometimes cumulated his office with that of Bursar,—much to the advantage of the collection under his care. "I was delighted," writes one such pluralist, "to have the charge of the purse, as well as the charge of the books. It not only enabled me to augment the collection freely, but to adorn our Library with the portraits of men illustrious for learning and for piety."[1]

Among the frequenters of St. Victor's Library, in the sixteenth century, was a famous man who there increased his learning and sharpened his wit, and then made the Monks, his benefactors, the objects of his satire. RABELAIS' would-be pleasantries on this subject are simply coarse and revolting. They shew—as his successors in literature have so often shewn since—with how contemptible and narrow a nature, vigorous and great faculties may be united. RABELAIS (with all his genius) is a true precursor of the VOLTAIRES, the DIDEROTS, and the D'HOLBACHS, of the eighteenth century, and the meanness of spirit, combined so conspicuously with greed of money in them all, has, in his case, even less of extenuation in attendant circumstances.

Visit of Peiresc; *circa* 1604.

Early in the next century, PEIRESC was a visitor here. He noticed amongst the contents a contemporary collection of the documents connected with the trial of JOAN of Arc. They had been gathered by Nicaise DELORME. Here also were preserved the "tablets" of

1 GOURREAU: *MS. Memoir* in Bibl. Nat.; cited by DELISLE: tom. ii., p. 228.

PHILIP the Fair, containing a curious record of his journeys and travelling expenses (1301, 1302). Amongst other regal curiosities of early date, were a book of *Hours;* and a translation of Aristotle's *Problemata*, made for King CHARLES the Fifth of France. Amongst the Classical MSS. was a *Livy* of the twelfth century. The Biblical MSS. were especially notable for their antiquity and beauty. The Biblical printed *incunabula* included Fust and Schoeffer's edition of 1462, on vellum.

Much later, when Louis JACOB published that *Traicté des plus belles Bibliothèques* (1644)—which I have so often to quote in these "*Memoirs*,"—the number of its manuscripts amounted to about 1500. Of the printed books we have no satisfactory statement, until a subsequent date.

Another instance of liberal participation of their treasures by the Canons of St. Victor, is seen in the grant of some choice manuscripts to a newly established Convent of Jesuits in their own neighbourhood, apparently as a help to the foundation of a Jesuit Library. When the new order came to be suppressed (1760), the Canons re-purchased their old possession, and the books are still extant.[1]

Gift of the Library of Du Bouchet; 1652;—

In 1652, the Library received a large augmentation by the bequest of Henri DU BOUCHET, Sieur de Bournonville, Councillor in the Parliament of Paris, of about 8000 volumes,[2] together with a collection of maps,

1 FRANKLIN, *ut sup.*, 153.

2 "Et se sont trouvez sept à huict mille volumes de toute ordre dont estoit

prints, and drawings, on the express stipulation that students should be admitted to read in the Library on three days, at least, of each week, and for *seven hours* on each of those days. This condition seems to shew that the Library at that time had ceased to be public. Cardinal MAZARIN's was then open to all comers.

The Community honoured their benefactor with a solemn funeral; placed his bust in their Library; and engraved on marble that part of his Will which concerned them. Another benefaction came soon afterwards, by the gift of Charles LE TONNELIER. At the close of the seventeenth century, the Canons possessed about twenty-one thousand volumes, of which nearly three thousand were MSS. They are described by a contemporary, as in good condition and freely accessible to public use.

The collection of Maps and Prints, of which DU BOUCHET's bequest had laid the foundation, was enriched by a far more splendid series gathered by Jean Nicolas DE TRALAGE, also a wealthy Councillor in the Parliament of Paris. The prints alone were nearly thirty-three thousand in number. It was, very probably, the finest collection of its kind then (1698) existing in the World.[1] Soon afterwards, another Parisian magistrate, Louis COUSIN (a member also of the French Academy), bequeathed a fine Library, and also an endowment for its perpetual increase, and its thorough publicity. That the many examples of zeal

and of that of Louis Cousin; *circa* 1710.

composée la ditte bibliothèque."—JEAN DE TOULOUSE: *Memorial de l'Abbaye de St. Victor*, ii. 57, 58 (FRANKLIN, i. 156).

1 FRANKLIN, *ut sup.;* citing Piganiol de LA FORCE: *Descr. de Paris*, v. 285. Comp. DU PLESSIS: *La Cabinet des Estampes à la Bibl. Impériale*, 13.

for learning which had thus been shewn at St. Victor's should bear more fruit, he further instituted an annual oration on the advantages of Public Libraries. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the collection of Printed Books had increased to nearly thirty-five thousand volumes, and that of Manuscripts to considerably more than three thousand. At this time the Abbacy was held by a descendant of the Stuarts,—the Duke of FITZ-JAMES. For the second time in its history, the Library had now outgrown its receptacle. Yearly sums were set apart to accumulate for a building-fund. The structure was begun in 1772. LEWIS XVI. made a grant of £6000, sterling, in aid of the expenses. But when the building—in all senses an ornament of Paris —came to be quite completed, the new Vandals were at hand. The Library of St. Victor, in its new perfection, had an existence of but three years.

The accounts of the extent of this Library at the outbreak of the Revolution do not at all accord with the Inventories taken a little before the suppression of the Monastic Communities. But that fact is not peculiar to St. Victor, nor is its probable explanation hard to find. As early as in 1790, there were some indications of the perils about to be incurred. The last Librarian, Jean Charles Marie BERNARD, was one of the victims of the massacres of September, 1792.

The enumeration of 1790 comprises 34,000 printed volumes; 1800 manuscripts; 170 volumes of maps; about 170 boxes containing plans and prints.

State of the Library of St. Victor in 1790.

The Communist PACHE allowed *three hours* for the transfer to some Municipal Repository (or to any place

at hand,) of these thirty-six thousand volumes; the three hours expired, the unremoved books were to be pitched out of window, in order to clear the Abbey for other purposes. AMEILHON (Librarian of the City) obtained, with difficulty, the modification of the imperious order, by putting *days* for hours, and then, laying hands upon every available cart and carriage he could find, effected their hurried removal to a neighbouring Hospital.

When the MSS. came to be eventually placed in the National Library, twelve hundred and seventy had escaped destruction or misappropriation, out of the eighteen hundred of 1790. Nine hundred and forty-four of these are Latin MSS. Many of those entered in GRANDRUE'S Catalogue of the fifteenth century were wanting. It is said that some of the many missing volumes were carried away by LINDENBROG.[1] Others, I believe, may be found in existing French collections.

It may here be noted that another Augustinian Community of Paris—whose Convent was near to the *Pont Neuf*—possessed more than three hundred MSS. Of these only *fifteen* came to the National Library.

The fine buildings of the Abbey of St. Victor remained for many years. Then they were destroyed, to make room for a wine-market. At the corner of a wall there might still, until very lately, have been seen a small fountain, with this inscription:—

> "Quæ sacros doctrinæ aperit Domus intima fontes,
> Civibus exterior dividit urbis aquas."

1 DELISLE: *ut sup.*

§ 5.—The Library of the Cathedral of Our Lady.

> Still am I busie bookès assembling,
> For to have plenty. It is a pleasaunt thing,
> In my conceyt, to have them aye at hand;
> Though what they mean, oft, I not understande.
>
> But yet I have them in great reverence
> And honour; saving them from filth and ordure,
> By often brushing and much diligence.
> Full goodly bound in pleasaunt coverture
> Of damesk-sattin, or els of velvet pure,
> I keep them sure;—fearing lest they should be lost;
> For in them is the cunning wherein I do me boast.
> —Alexander Barclay: *The Ship of Fooles* (1509).

The recorded gifts of Service Books to the Church of Notre-Dame begin as early as in the tenth century. All similar gifts down to the year 1160 are either Biblical or Liturgical. In May, 1160, the famous Peter Lombard gave all his books to the Church. These consist, chiefly, of Biblical Commentaries. A century later, Stephen, Archdeacon of Canterbury, leaves his books (1271), on the express condition that they shall be made "accessible to the poor students in theology of the Schools of Paris." This collection also is rich in Biblical Literature. In 1297, Pierre de Juigny bequeathes a larger number of works on various subjects, with the same stipulation. A long series of donors follow during the next two centuries; but at the end of the sixteenth century the Library seems to have fallen into decay.

During a great part of the next century, its Annals are almost a blank. Nor can this be matter of surprise if we note the character of the man who, at

that date, bore temporary sway in the Chapter of Notre-Dame. Late in that century, an ecclesiastical annalist records the death of a Dean (DE CONTES), who left behind him a sum of 400,000 livres, one half of which, it is said, was found, in coin, in his coffers. And it is noted, by the way, that he also left behind him a wardrobe which, for its extent and costliness, was the marvel of Parisian beholders. But we hear of no books; of no legacies to contemporary poor; of no provision for the studies of distressed scholars to come.[1]

Claude Joly's Gift; in 1680.

Immediately, almost, after the death of the Dean whose rule seems to mark the nadir of the Library of Notre-Dame, its decay was repaired (1680) by a considerable benefaction of Claude JOLY, Precentor of the Church, and author of a *Traité des Ecoles Ecclèsiastiques*.

JOLY's Library was notable in its day, and the gift of it—as a testimony, he says, of gratitude to the Church which had been his nursing-mother, and his protectress, during forty-nine years[2]—was accompanied by a collection of portraits of eminent men. This donation was followed in the course of the succeeding century by many others. Notre-Dame had come to be possessed of a precious series of MSS., some of them of the seventh, eighth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. These were sold, in 1756, to the King, for the augmentation of the Royal Library, "in order," say the vendors, "that they may be made more accessible to the learned,

Transfer of MSS to the Royal Library.

1 PONTCHATEAU: Hist. de Port-Royal; MS.; cited by SAINT BEUVE: *Port-Royal*, iv. 131.

2 FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, 1874; i. 32, *seqq.* Joly had inherited the Library of Antoine Loisel, also an Ecclesiastic of Paris.

and more useful to the Republic of Letters." The overture, it seems, was made to the Chapter by D'ARGENSON, the Secretary of State. 50,000 livres were paid by the King; part of which sum was applied to the purchase of printed books, and part to the printing of a Catalogue.

Among the earliest and choicest of the MSS. enumerated in the original Catalogue are these: (1,) *Codex quatuor Evangelium*, of the ninth or tenth century; (2,) An ancient *Evangeliary*, in uncials and on vellum, with many miniatures; the cover ornamented with many figures in relief; (3,) A translation of the *Gospels* into old German, of the eleventh century.

Notwithstanding this alienation of precious manuscripts, given by former benefactors of the Chapter of Notre-Dame, another collection, comprising 159 volumes and 68 bundles, illustrative of the Church History of France, was bequeathed to the Chapter in 1762. The donor was Pierre LE MERRE, an Advocate of Paris.

In 1787, the Metropolitan Church of Paris possessed about 12,000 printed volumes, which were soon to share the common fate of the ecclesiastical collections. They passed, towards the close of 1790, into one or other of the great Municipal Repositories of confiscated books, to be afterwards in part, probably, scattered far and wide; in part, transferred into subsisting Libraries. Twenty years later (1811), some of the Municipal "Repositories" were still existing under the Empire. The Canons of Notre-Dame represented to the then Minister of the Home Department that they felt the

need of books in their Church, and they were empowered to make a selection out of the confiscated remnants, as the beginning of a new Library.[1]

1 "*Letter of Paris Clergy*," MS., in Nat. Archives; as cited by FRANKLIN: *ut sup.*, i. 43.

§ 6.—Library of the ancient Abbey of St. Genevieve.

And well their outward vesture did express
The bent and habit of their inward mind;
Adopting [Bennet's] antiquated dress,
His usages, by Time cast far behind.
. . . . .
Yet under names of venerable sound,
Wide o'er the World they stretched their awful rood;
Through all the provinces of Learning own'd
For teachers of whate'er is wise and good.
. . . .
Extending from the hill on every side,
In circuit vast a verdant valley spread,
Across whose uniform flat bosom glide
A thousand streams, in wandering mazes led.
—Gilbert West: *Education*, xxiii, xxvii.

The foundation of the Augustinian Abbey of St. Geneviève may be said to be pre-historic. Early records tell of its destruction by the invading Normans, but disclose nothing of its origin. The first traces of a restored Library occur late in the twelfth century. It increased gradually and considerably during the three following centuries. Then the laborious acquisitions of many generations of pious Monks were scattered by an unworthy Abbot and a corrupted Community.

When Richelieu, in 1624, induced Cardinal François de La Rochefoucauld to undertake a reform of the decayed Community, the new Superior, it is said,[1] found scarcely a single volume, save such service-books

1 Franklin: *Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, i. 74; citing, for the early annals of this Library, a MS. "*Hist. de l'Abbaye de S. Geneviève*," and also the early topographers of Paris, Dubreul and Malingre. I cannot cite M. Franklin's book, without adding my humble tribute to its conspicuous merit.

as were still in use in the Choir. He sent for a selection of some six hundred of his own books, as the foundation of a new Abbey Library. On his death, the Canons inherited the remainder. As he had taken pains to import new Monks as well as new books, the collection prospered.

FRONTEAU, one of the most conspicuous members of the reformed foundation, divided his energies—which were notable—between his class of philosophy, and his cares for the Library. When he entered St. Geneviève, he had found almost empty shelves. His strong sympathies with the Jansenists of Port-Royal, (though he was never formally enrolled among "nos Messieurs,") made him a sharer in their persecution; but before he was expelled from St. Geneviève he had trained a book-loving successor in P. LALLEMANT.[1] Their joint labours in that disturbed and trying time, speedily brought together nearly eight thousand volumes, and put them into thorough order.

The books so gathered were the nucleus, and those Augustinian Monks were the virtual founders, of the noble Library which,—having escaped the Vandals of the Revolution,—now subserves, by day and by

1 It seems to be not improbable that it was by Lallemant that the above-mentioned MS. *History of St. Geneviève*, several times cited by M. Franklin, was written:—"I cannot but deplore," says this anonymous writer, "the loss that was sustained [by the Library] in the time of Abbot de Bréchauteau, one of whose servants found precious MSS. lying neglected in a gallery, and sold them to booksellers, by weight, as old parchment," in order (it may be hoped) to buy service-books for the Choir with the proceeds. Several Libraries, he adds, profited by this misconduct. Some books he had himself seen in the Library of Cardinal Mazarin. Others he had been enabled to re-purchase, from dealers, in order to restore them to their old abode.

night, the studies or the solace of a vast crowd of readers. The readers of these days spend little thought on their monkish predecessors; but they include persons of many callings and professions, and occasionally of almost all classes of society; and some amongst them will be sure to learn eventually some degree of gratitude for the past, wherewith to leaven and to dignify their enjoyment and their admiration of the present.

LALLEMANT lived until 1673. He was followed in the librarianship by Claude DU MOLINET, eminent as an antiquarian and numismatist, under whose care a new Library-building was constructed, a valuable cabinet of antiquities added, and the foundation of a collection of prints laid. DU MOLINET'S term of office was only fifteen years, but at his death the number of manuscripts had increased to about four hundred, and that of printed books to nearly twenty thousand volumes. The medals and coins were already important enough to enable the Canons of St. Geneviève to bestow three hundred specimens on the King's collection, as a welcome gift. They had partaken of the inheritance of the cabinet of PEIRESC.

The Benefaction of Archbishop Le Tellier; 1710.

Their Library was now to be nearly doubled by the gift of an episcopal collection, described by a contemporary as "rich and choice in what is best in books,"[1] the fruit of the researches and of the liberal expenditure, during fifty years, of Charles Maurice LE TELLIER, Archbishop of Rheims. "It would be a great loss if these books were scattered, as they doubtless would be,

1 PIGANIOL DE LA FORCE: *Description de Paris*, vi. 82; FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Bibliothèques*, i. 76.

after my death," writes the prelate in his last Will. "This conviction," he continues, "makes me think it my duty to give them to a Community able to preserve them, to use them, and to dispense the use of them to the Public. I therefore give and bequeath my books to the Abbey of St. Geneviève-au-Mont."[1] This bequest took effect in 1710. It added about sixteen thousand volumes to the previous collection.

GALLAND, the well-known Orientalist,[2] has recorded in his MS. Diary (anno 1710) that he was told by SARREBOURSE, then Librarian of St. Geneviève, that when the Archbishop's collection came to be collated with its catalogue, only one volume was found to be wanting. The missing volume was a book, entitled "*Teatro Jesuitico*," printed at Coimbra, of which, at that time, no other copy was known to bibliographers. GALLAND adds that his informant attributed the abstraction of the "*Teatro*" to a near relative of its owner, a certain "Abbé DE L.," by which initial is plainly meant the well-known Abbé DE LOUVOIS, son of the Minister, and Keeper of the King's Library.[3]

Another extremely rare Le Tellier volume—much prized by lovers of early French literature—entitled *L'An des sept Dames*, disappeared from St. Geneviève's

1 Will of Archbishop Le Tellier; preserved in the Archives of France; printed by Franklin, *ut sup.*, 77.

2 The Galland known even to English children by his version of "*The Thousand nights and one night.*"

3 *Journal MS. de Galland*, § 25 Mai, 1710. I quote it from an article in the *Journal des Savants*, of August, 1876, p. 525. Galland notes in a subsequent entry of his Diary that he had heard afterwards of a second copy of the *Teatro Jesuitico*, as having been brought to Paris from Lerida, where the owner had purchased it from a soldier present at the taking of that town.

Library for nearly seventy years. Then, this coveted collection of mediæval tales figured in the catalogue of a sale by auction. It was eagerly purchased (the law now applicable, in France, to such cases being non-existent) for the Library, and restored to its place; but only to disappear again within six months. This adventurous volume again made its appearance at a public sale; was again bought by its owners a few years since; and special care is now taken of a book so dangerously attractive to connoisseurs.[1]

St. Geneviève Library made Public.

There is contemporary evidence that the Canons gave virtual effect to Archbishop LE TELLIER's injunction by making their Library accessible upon application, though they did not expressly organize it as a public institution until many years afterwards. They had to enlarge their buildings. They were art-loving Monks accustomed, in externals, to a somewhat stately life. They did liberal honour to a liberal benefactor.

When visitors entered the chief room of the restored Library, they were wont, says a contemporary writer, to be dazzled by its majestic perspective, its richly-painted ceiling, its long range of the busts of famous authors, and by other rich and varied decorations which attracted the eye at every step. Extant prints fully bear out this statement, and shew that the richness of the repository was in due subordination to the contents. Outwardly, as well as intrinsically, the books were worthy of their abode.

1 DE BOUGY: *Hist. de la Bibliothèque de S. Geneviève.* M. de Bougy has given a full account of the contents of this very curious volume.

The Librarian of that day, Pierre François Le Courrayer, made himself in later life well-known here in England. He is deservedly honoured for literary and controversial labours which, at a peculiar juncture in her history, rendered to our National Church a welcome service. Like his early predecessor, Lallemant, he was in theology a Jansenist, and like him became for conscience sake an exile from the loved Monastery to which he had been a benefactor.

The Librarianship of Pierre Le Courrayer.

Le Courrayer had acquired for the Library of St. Geneviève a copy of Renaudot's *Mémoire sur la validité des Ordinations des Anglois;* had read it and made some notes upon it. He had, as it seems, at the outset no purpose of taking any public share in the discussion, but the views he had formed, and had talked about, met with sympathy. He was asked to reply to Renaudot. In due time his dissertation was sent to the official licenser of the press, and by him was sanctioned for publication. But it failed to obtain the final approval of the Chancellor. In the interval, the writer heard that Archbishop Wake was in Paris, and came into communication with him. Eventually, the tract was published, in 1723, with the fictitious imprint of "Brussels," and without the author's name. It had really been printed at Nancy.

Le Courrayer's tract upon English Ordinations; and what it led to.

In 1724, by an article in the *Journal des Savants*, Le Courrayer avowed the authorship of the treatise, which had already been attacked with not a little bitterness. The controversy now increased in keenness, and many theologians of note took part in it. The author published, in 1726, an elaborate defence

of his treatise. He had already, by the advice of his superiors, retired from St. Geneviève to the dependant Priory of Hennemont. He was now formally condemned and excommunicated by the sentence of a Council assembled at the Monastery of St. Germain (August, 1727), at which twenty-two prelates were present. Whilst still at Hennemont, LE COURRAYER received from the University of Oxford his diploma as Doctor of Divinity. With it came assurances that if he should cross the Channel, he would find a cordial welcome. He arrived in England in January, 1728.

The tasks of the Librarian were now to be entirely changed for those of the Writer. A long career lay yet before him; and he did not suffer himself, even in that controversial age, to be wholly absorbed in theological polemics. But the events which had made him an exile coloured all his subsequent life. His first publication (1729) was a *Relation historique et apologétique des sentimens et de la conduite du Père Le Courrayer*. It was followed by translations from SLEIDAN and from Paolo SARPI. In the preface to SARPI'S *History of the Council of Trent*, he records in glowing terms his gratitude for the kindness which he had met with in England. Among his later literary labours are a Life of LE BOSSU, and a Life of DU MOLINET, his worthy predecessor in the Librarianship of St. Geneviève. Notwithstanding the liberal treatment and the warm friendships which he met with in England, he must needs have had many fond regrets for the old Parisian abode and workshop.

Le Courrayer at Oxford.

In 1733, LE COURRAYER appeared at the Oxford

"Commemoration," and excited much attention. His speech in the Sheldonian Theatre was printed both in Latin and English. To the abilities and the learning which had first won for him so kindly a reception, he added many genial qualities and many truly Christian charities. But in point of Christian faith he added, in the upshot, one instance more to the long line of examples which shew how hard it is—in these later days—for men bred in the Roman Communion to find sure anchorage in any other. With them, usually, it is Romanism—or eventual scepticism.

The exile from St. Geneviève survived his banishment nearly half-a-century; dying (in Downing Street, Westminster,) in 1776, at the age of ninety-five. He bequeathed seven hundred pounds to the poor of two Westminster parishes; and also a considerable benefaction to the poor of his birth-place in Normandy. He had in his lifetime known well how to find affection "in huts where poor men lie," as well as in a Parisian Abbey, or in an Oxford common-room. It is characteristic of the man, that the friend of WAKE was also the friend of ATTERBURY. By the exiled Anglican Prelate, a portrait of the exiled Augustinian Monk was bequeathed to the University which had incorporated him.

He bequeaths his books to Tenison's Library at St. Martin's.

LE COURRAYER's books were given by his last will to Archbishop TENISON's Library at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields;—a Library devoted by its founder to public use, but suffered in our own days to be dispersed, by the supineness and neglect of those who should have been its guardians. That dispersion was as truly dis-

graceful to the Parliament which passed the needful Bill, from somnolence, as it was to the parishioners, and to the Rector, who originated the Bill, from parsimony. Those whose better light might have led them to the duty of opposing its passing, were craftily taken by surprise. LE COURRAYER'S was far from being the only gift of an estimable benefactor which was desecrated when TENISON'S Library was sold. And the sale took place *after* the passing of the "Public Libraries Act" of 1850.

Librarianship of Claude Prevost.

In the Librarianship at St. Geneviève, Claude PREVOST had succeeded LE COURRAYER, but only for a short time as chief. LE COURRAYER'S own predecessor, GILLET, who had for a time taken the headship of a dependant Priory, returned to end his days in his old office, and the two became joint-librarians. PREVOST made a book-hunting tour in the Netherlands, with good results for the Library of St. Geneviève.[1]

Residence at St. Geneviève of Lewis, Duke of Orleans.

Towards the middle of the century the Abbey received a princely guest, who was to surpass most of the Canons of the House, so far as respects the voluntary austerities and mortifications to which he subjected himself, and to equal the most studious of them in the diligent use of their Library. LEWIS, Duke of Orleans, (son of the Regent) seemed bent on exemplifying once again what saliency of contrast might be seen in the lives of a father and a son;—a contrast often shewn before, but rarely, perhaps, to a like extent. His seclusion was enlivened by much learned conversation,

1 JORDAN: *Voyage Littéraire*, 62.

and by many of the delights of a collector. But the Duke seems to have spent most of his time in the study of the old Theologians and Commentators, and in the hard attempt to wrestle, at a mature age, with the lexicography and grammar of the Oriental tongues, that he might be the better fitted for his biblical readings, and for the composition of innumerable tracts on thorny topics of Divinity and of Ethics. These tracts he would not permit to be printed, nor did he leave them to his Augustinian hosts. He gave them, testamentarily, together with his printed books, to a neighbouring and much poorer Community of Dominicans.

His Bequests to the Library and Museum of the Abbey.

To St. Geneviève, he bequeathed choice collections of medals and of gems; and to its Curator in the Abbey, his Museum of Natural History. But most of these collections—other than books—were eventually claimed by the heirs-at-law, and became, in the issue, the foundation of the Museum at the Palais-Royal.

The death of Duke LEWIS, and of the learned joint-Librarians, GILLET and PREVOST, with whom he had held so many a long discussion—suggestive, perhaps, of CASAUBON'S pithy question when told of the long ages of debate at the neighbouring Sorbonne: "What, then, have they decided?"—came closely together. The new Librarians were Alexander Gui PINGRE, and Barthélémé MERCIER, who, as is well known, made a deep mark in the annals of bibliography. PINGRE is better remembered for his devotion to astronomy, and for his passionate love of Horace, than for anything specially belonging to his Librarianship.

Librarianship of Pingré and Mercier.

At this period, the Abbey of St. Geneviève became more than ever one of the popular sights of Paris, from the development of its Museum of Antiquities; the foundation of which lay in the collections of PEIRESC. The Museum now occupied nine handsome rooms. All the collections of the Abbey were made thoroughly available for students.

When the Revolution came, with its many perils for the best interests of learning and true civilisation, the Library of St. Geneviève had grown to 58,107 printed volumes and 2013 manuscripts.[1] The cabinet of coins and medals contained nearly 17,000 specimens.

The Library designated, at the Revolution, "Pantheon Library."

The newly-erected church of St. Geneviève was turned into a "Pantheon of Great Men"—after the estimate of the day;—subject, of course, to those instructive revised estimates which became necessary when the object of last week's adoration turned into the object of this week's hatred. The Library therefore came to be known as "Library of the Pantheon," and this conversion, combined with certain personal influences, saved it from sharing in the general suppression of Monastic Libraries, and the heaping-up of their

1 MS. Enumerations of 1790 (p. 99), preserved in the National Archives and quoted textually by FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, ut sup. The special historian of St. Geneviève, M. de Bougy, says that in 1787 the Library contained 80,000 printed volumes; a statement which I was led to adopt in the first Edition of this book. De Bougy adds that at the date of the suppression the number of volumes was still the same. (*Histoire de la Bibl. de St. Geneviève*, 128). But the documentary evidence adduced by M. Franklin is conclusive on this point. On the other hand, there is always in regard to the Libraries of 1790-1, the possibility of a withdrawal of books by their owners, on the eve of anticipated suppression, and in the hope of better times. This may sometimes, and to a certain extent, account for prevalent discrepancies of statement.

treasures into chaotic "depôts," under the guardianship of the Communists. The subsidiary cabinet of medals was transferred to the National Library.

The Abbé PINGRE quitted the Augustinian robe in 1790, and continued to be Librarian until his death in 1796. MERCIER DE ST. LEGER had long ceased to be his colleague, but he retained his love for the old Abbey, and made frequent visits to its Library. Once, he had the shock of meeting in the street one of the tumbrils of "the Terror," and of seeing in it a beloved friend and comrade. The sight, it was believed, made his remaining years one long malady; but he lingered until 1799.

The Librarianship and the literary and public career of P. Daunou.

PINGRE was succeeded, for a few months only, by Guillaume Antoine LEMONNIER. Then[1] came the memorable Librarianship of Pierre Claude François DAUNOU, eminent as critic, as orator, as historian, as legist, and as statesman; not less eminent, too, in the humbler, but by him beloved, pursuits of bibliography. The man who could withstand the terrorists in their heighth of power; who could preside with dignity over the National Convention, when the remnant of the ROBESPIERRE faction were seeking to regain power by violence; who could, for conviction's sake, resist the blandishments of NAPOLEON, when he wore the yet unstained laurels of Italy and of the Consulate; could also employ himself with ardour in the daily tasks of the

1 DAUNOU's nomination is dated 17 Floréal an V = 6th May, 1797.

Librarian,—could calendar records, or classify books, with equal assiduity.[1]

DAUNOU's life had been already varied and eventful when he was appointed to the Librarianship at St. Geneviève. Born at Boulogne-sur-Mer in 1761, and educated there in the College of the Oratorians, he became himself a member of their Order before he was seventeen years of age; induced, it is probable, by the perspective of long years of quiet study in the well-stored Oratorian Libraries. That pleasant prospect was indeed illusive, but the labours in literature of a public, turmoiled, and most chequered life, would have done honour—as far as literature is concerned—to a lifetime spent in a cloister of the Congregation of St. Maur. The Oratorians of 1780—like the Oratorians of 1880, nearer home—had "many windows open to the busy world,"[2] and the currents of thought from without must have largely modified the teachings within. DAUNOU did not learn all that the Oratorians of the best days could have taught him. He learnt the lessons of indefatigable industry, and of fidelity to conscience. But it was the conscience of this world pre-eminently. He seems never to have regained the faith of the early years.

His earliest tasks were those of a tutor and lecturer in many Colleges of his Order. He had often to make long journeys on foot to Paris and elsewhere. It was

1 See the testimony on this point of an admirable judge, the late Marquis de Laborde, which I have cited on a subsequent page.

2 The expression is Sainte-Beuve's (*Portraits contemporaires et divers*, iii. 8).

noted of him, thus early, that many a book was mastered in a walk.[1] He taught theology as well as philosophy and literature. But theology to him was never a congenial field of labour.

DAUNOU's first publication was a prize-essay written for the Academy of Nismes, on the question: "*What has been Boileau's influence on French Literature?*" (1787). It led to a polemic in which the youthful writer shewed powers of fence quite equal to the occasion.[2] His next appearance was upon a point of social law (in 1788) in which the nascent powers of the future legislator were already to be recognized. Then (1790) came another academical essay,[3] which subsequent events made famous. This essay, which the crowding incidents of the day deprived of its expected audience, was followed by the first of a long series of writings on Public Education, varied in form, and many ways fruitful in result.

As an orator, DAUNOU made his first appearance at a funeral ceremony, in the Church of the Oratorians of Paris, for those who had fallen in the attack on the Bastille. It was to be his fortune thereafter to deliver the funeral oration for HOCHE, in the Champ-de-Mars; to preside, and to speak, on many questions

1 Ibid.

2 VILLENAVE: *Vie de Daunou* (in *Nour. Biog. Gèn.*, xiii. 186).

3 On the question, proposed by the Lyons Academy, "What truths and what opinions is it most important to impress on men for their happiness?" A question soon to receive some remarkable answers, then quite unanticipated at Lyons or elsewhere. The events of 1791 prevented any adjudication by the Academy. See SAINTE-BEUVE: *Portraits Contemp.*, iii. 19.

Daunou's political career.

which mark epochs in the History of the Convention,[1] and of the Council of Five Hundred. He was also to deliver the installation-speech of the Institute (in April, 1796), of which he was to be so conspicuous a member for forty-four years. But nothing in all the brilliant labours of the orator and publicist—extended over half a century—does more honour to his memory than do the courageous and pregnant words which he addressed to the Convention in 1794:—"Anarchy has contrived to compress into one single year more disasters and more crimes than human history has, until now, recorded for several centuries."

These words were written in the old Abbey of Port-Royal, at Paris (then converted into one of the prisons of the Terror), an Abbey so teeming with memories of great publicists connected with the first and best period of the "Port-Royal" of history. Whilst fully accepting the truth of DAUNOU'S denunciations of the crimes of 1793-94, one can scarcely—whilst reading it, and thinking of the place where it was written—avoid a retrospect at those atrocities of a bygone day which had not even the poor extenuation of popular frenzy and popular ignorance. The History of the Terror is, in one of its aspects, a commentary on the Ecclesiastical history of France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and very specially a commentary on the annals of the two Abbeys of Port-Royal.

Soon after his appointment (1797) to the Librarian-

1 He was returned to the National Convention for the department of Pas-de-Calais, with two most strangely assorted colleagues, Carnot and Thomas Paine.

ship of St. Geneviève, DAUNOU was sent into Italy to organize the new Republic of the Roman States. At Rome, he found the private Library of Pope PIUS the Sixth, which had been seized by the usurpers of the day, under offer of sale. He obtained authority from the French Directory to purchase[1] the more choice and rare books of that collection, in part for the National Library; in part for that of St. Geneviève. Among the books selected for St. Geneviève (then, it will be remembered, designated "Library of the Pantheon,") were a fine series of the editions of SWEYNHEYM and PANNARTZ, and of those of other early printers; with many precious copies of the great books of prints on the Vatican collections and the other art-treasures of Rome. Those of DAUNOU's acquisitions which had been allotted to the National Library were restored to Italy in 1815; those sent to St. Geneviève's were not claimed.[2] They were shewn with some pride to the bibliographer DIBDIN in 1818; and they are to be seen still. One of the revolutionary depôts of the books confiscated in Paris itself had been established in the Abbey buildings, and the Library shared largely in the spoils. Probably, not less than 20,000 volumes were thus added; the larger portion of them being taken from the collection of the suppressed Cordeliers.[3]

His purchase of the Library of Pius VI.

DAUNOU had been a very prominent member of the

1 See DE BOUGY: *Hist. de la bibl. de St. Geneviève*, ut sup.

2 DIBDIN: *Bibliographical Tour in France, &c.*, ii. 171.

3 The Cordeliers of Paris possessed, at the date of their suppression, 17,614 volumes (*Etat, &c.*, cited by FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Biblioth.*, i. 207). According to M. de Bougy, most of these came to St. Geneviève.

Council of Five-Hundred. His political course had been marked by moderation, as well as by energy. At the fall of the Directory he narrowly missed nomination as one of the three Consuls. He then busied himself as zealously in the task of classifying, arranging, and cataloguing[1] the vast undigested mass of additions to his Library, as if all his previous life had been passed in the quiet cloister. He drew up a scheme for the classification of books,[2] which has been regarded by competent judges as the best of the many systems of arrangement of nearly contemporary date, all of which bear upon them the unmistakable stamp of the days of the Revolution. And he found time and energy to turn to account in another way, by an incidental labour of those busy years, the masses of books heaped together in the municipal depôt. He laid the foundation of the Library of the Legislative Body.[3]

The political intrigues and rivalries of those days were sure to have their counterpart in places with which politics should properly have had no concern. DAUNOU's marked independence of character had given offence to NAPOLEON, against whom, curiously enough, he had stood as rival candidate[4] for the prize offered to essayists in 1792 by the Academy of Lyons, as mentioned

1 "J'ai eu bien souvent dans les mains, lorsque les livres des Génovefains étaient encore dans leur vénérable local, les cartes du catalogue de Daunou, et les registres sur lesquels elles étaient copiées, le tout écrit de sa main." —DE LABORDE: *Les Archives de France*, 385 (1867.)

2 Cf. TAILLANDIER: *Documents biographiques sur Daunou*, 70; and DE LABORDE, *ut supr.*, 158 and 389.

3 VILLENAVE: *Vie de Daunou*, in *Nouv. Biog. Géner.*, xiii. 186, *seqq.*

4 MIGNET: *Notices historiques*, DAUNOU, Edit. of 1843, pp. 179, *seqq.*

above. But, though he did not like DAUNOU, the Emperor knew well his sterling qualities, his vast acquirements, and his practical wisdom in the tasks of daily life. Opportunity had been presented for a petty plot at St. Geneviève which caused him great disquiet, and at length threw him into severe illness. It came at a critical period in human life, and for a time the man to whom strenuous labour had been a delight, could scarcely write a letter; would even be moved to tears by some slight difficulty. But the intrigue was defeated, and health returned. Ere long he was strong enough to combine, though only for a short time, his duties at St. Geneviève,[1] with the keepership of the National Archives.[2] Many admirable contributions to the *Histoire littéraire de France*, and somewhat later, to the *Biographie Universelle*, as well as to the *Mémoires de l'Institut*, belong also to this period of DAUNOU'S life. And one notes, here and there, in turning over the leaves, that the sturdy independence of the first years of the Empire has suffered some deflexion. A little incense is burnt occasionally before the imperial shrine.

1 It is by an oversight that the Marquis de Laborde, in speaking of Daunou's Librarianship of St. Geneviève, has said (*Les Archives de la France*, 385):—"*Il ne cessa ces fonctions* que pour devenir Garde général des Archives en 1804." He continued to be Librarian until 1806, (Cf. FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Bibl.*, ut supr.) in cumulation for about two years with the care of the Archives of the Empire. Not long after his entrance into office at St. Geneviève, he endeavoured to resuscitate the *Journal des Savants* which, after an existence of a hundred and twenty-seven years, had been suspended in 1792. But the attempt of 1797 was successful for only six months. In 1816 the task was resumed by the same energetic hand, with results which are known wherever literature is valued.

2 Of his labours at the Archives I shall have occasion to speak at large hereafter (D.V.). [See Vol. III., § "THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF FRANCE."]

The Library-Buildings of St. Geneviève.

One of the minor anxieties of his Library administration merits remark. Even in NAPOLEON's days, there were already some ominous mutterings about the alleged instability and "danger" of the Abbey buildings of St. Geneviève. Some ambitious architects seem then to have thought a Commission to raise a new Library a desirable thing. Some neighbouring professors[1] seem to have looked with longing eyes upon the capaciousness, the fine proportions, the paintings, the oak-carvings, and the sculptured marbles of the old one. To DAUNOU this was not a small matter. It occasioned sore anxiety. He loved the very walls which contained the treasures he had so largely increased and improved. He succeeded in repelling the invaders, for the present. But he was now—for a time—an administrator with divided cares. Hence, probably, the omission to make those thorough repairs which might have preserved the fine edifice of the Augustinians for generations to come;—just as like timely, and duly-limited, cares might, in England, have saved many noble old churches, the needless removal of which we have so often seen in all parts of the country.

At St. Geneviève, DAUNOU succeeded in holding the destructives in check for his own term of office, and even for his life-time. But, as we shall see presently, they were delayed, not defeated. The grand old Library building, like so many of our churches, was "restored" into a new one.

In the year 1819, the contents of the Library were

1 See DE BOUGY: *Hist. de la Bibliothèque de St. Geneviève*, 160, *seqq.*

estimated at about 110,000 volumes of Printed Books.[1] The MSS. remained much as they were at the date of the suppression, namely about 2000 in number. During the thirty years ending with 1820, the average annual increment of printed works was about eleven hundred volumes. Up to that date the classes most largely represented were Theology, History, and Polite Literature. Of late years, and especially since 1830, the main additions have been in the Mathematical and Physical Sciences, in Medicine, and in Law. It has become the Library, pre-eminently, of the "*Quartier-Latin*."

The Official Returns of 1849.

In 1849, according to official returns, received by the British Foreign Office from our Ambassador in Paris, the average number of printed volumes annually added was about five hundred. The total contents had, it was then said, grown to about 150,000 printed volumes, and to nearly 3500 manuscripts.[2]

But so curiously inaccurate were some of the Paris returns so made, at that epoch of political turmoil and of street-riot,—that there is now (1884) abundant reason to deduct from the figure first-named at least 40,000 volumes. For at that date the Library was certainly growing steadily, with an increment of at least from 300 to 400 volumes yearly. And a recent official esti-

1 PETIT-RADEL: *Recherches*, ut sup.

2 Foreign Office Returns, 1849, in supp. to *Report on Pub. Libraries*, 91-93. I take the figures "180,000" to be a clerical error for 150,000. Cf. FRANKLIN: *Anc. Bibl. de Paris*, i. 88, seqq. (1867); and DE BOUGY, *ut sup.* It would seem that there has been even now no recent counting of the books, as they actually stand. But the figures in the text are official and, as respects the MSS., are based on an actual count (1882). The latter were stated in 1849 at 3500.

mate assigns to printed books only 121,000 volumes, together with 2390 manuscripts. The annual income of the Library was stated at £5009. For the year 1884, the grant was £4749.

[Calculated on the basis of the official returns of 1849, the aggregate total of printed books, in 1884, would have been about 167,500 volumes—an error of almost fifty thousand volumes.]

It would seem from recent statements, in the *Annuaire du Bibliophile*, that the returned rate of increase, supposing that small detail to have been, by exception, correctly stated, has scarcely been maintained of late years.

In the year 1838, the Library of St. Geneviève was for the first time opened in the evening (from six o'clock until ten, daily), as well as in the mornings. The historian of the Library, after nine years' experience of the new regulations, wrote thus: "It is, undoubtedly, one of the acts which do most honour to the administration of M. de SALVANDY,"—then the Minister of Public Instruction. It is pleasant to know that the Minister by whom this extension of public facilities was made, had himself passed many of the studious days of his youth in the Library of St. Geneviève. SALVANDY's excellent innovation has been maintained amidst all the changes of fifty years. And it is profited by to an extent which makes an evening visit to St. Geneviève not the least interesting sight to be seen in Paris. The privilege is highly valued, and it is not, I believe, abused.

The collection is very rich in incunabula; in the modern history of foreign countries; and in periodical literature.[1]

These six examples of Libraries, chiefly Monastic, all save one of mediæval origin; all attaining conspicuous importance and educational influence in remote days, must, in these cursory "Memoirs," suffice as samples of a class, which, in Paris alone, numbered between fifty and sixty several institutions, all founded by ecclesiastics; most of them by Monks.

Aggregate number of the Monastic Libraries of Paris, at the date of the Revolution.

Thirty-nine, alone, of this number, including with thirty-eight Libraries, strictly Monastic, the Library founded by ROBERT of Sorbonne, comprised, at the outbreak of the Revolution, no less than 637,979 (six hundred and thirty-seven thousand nine hundred and seventy-nine) volumes of printed books,[2] and 18,093 (eighteen thousand and ninety-three) volumes of manuscripts.[3] A very large proportion of these Libraries were available for public use. They had received, as we have seen, large benefactions, but in a great measure they were supported, for public utility and public enjoyment, out of ecclesiastical revenues. A large number of them conjoined, with priceless mediæval manuscripts (the well-heads and springs of no small portion of that

1 THOMAS and TEDDER: Art. "LIBRARIES" in *Encyclop. Britannica*, xiv. 525. [Written in 1881.]

2 Besides these, *three* only of the Churches of old Paris possessed Libraries containing 23,587 volumes.

3 FRANKLIN: *Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, passim.

modern historic learning which is best worth the studying), noble collections of marbles; of pictures; of prints; of medals; of the marvels of the beneficence and of the wisdom of GOD, as shewn in His realms of Nature —in mineralogy, in botany, in zoology;—collections infantine, in comparison with existing Museums, but the germs and the beginnings of some of the best of them.

They contained, too, in the mere adjuncts of their Libraries,—over and above the wealth of those Biblical Manuscripts,—of those Patristic and later Theological Manuscripts;—of those MSS. of Greek and Latin Classics;—of those Historical and Miscellaneous Mediæval and Modern Manuscripts;—which, together with their store of printed volumes, make up what we call, distinctively, a Library of Books;—great collections of the minor documents of History, topographical and genealogical.

Of the last-named department of a Library, it has become somewhat the fashion, in these days, to speak sneeringly—at least, in some popular quarters. But a writer, whose fame will surely outlast that of many writers whose names just now are, perhaps, much more currently bruited and praised, and who has a special title to speak of *History*, because the fame he won as Poet and as Romancist came to him (in a degree which, as yet, in his own field, remains without peer or rival,) precisely because he knew how to infuse into the framework, and into the very soul, so to speak, of a tale, or of a poem, the kernel of true history; how to imbue a romance with the manners, the colour, the spirit, and the life of bygone generations; how to teach the just

appreciation of the times that are past, whilst adding new charms to the enjoyment of times present,—has said something on this head, which is better worth listening to. Sir Walter SCOTT wrote (in 1805) some words as weighty as they are brief:—"Genealogical deductions . . . . are the Keys of History; and they are often its touchstone." [1]

That these "Keys of History" are still so abundant, and that Literary and Historical Collections of every kind are still so precious in France,—in spite of the Vandals of the Revolution, and of their emulative successors of recent days,—is very much due to those memorable Monks of old Paris, of whose labours I have given, even with the help of so many and recent researches of French archæologists, but a very imperfect and poor scantling in these pages.

1 Sir Walter Scott to the Countess of Moira: 10th February, 1805.

CHAPTER V.

The Libraries of the Mendicant Orders.

Non era ancor molto lontan dall' orto,
Ch' ei comincio a far sentir la terra
Della sua gran virtude alcun conforto;
Chè per tal donna giovinetto in guerra
Del padre corse, a cui, com' alla morte,
La porta del piacer nessun dissera;
E dinanzi alla sua spirital corte,
Et coram patre le si fece unito;
Poscia di di' in di' l' amò più forte.
. . . . . .
Ma perch' io non procedo troppo chiuso,
Francesca e Povertà per questi amanti
Prendi oramai nel mio parlar diffuso.
—Dante: *Del Paradiso*, Canto Decimoprimo.

. . . . . They who live in the World have many other lessons of Humility than those of Monastic mortification. God provides for their discipline a multitude of humiliations, suited to their several positions in life:—wearisome affairs; losses of wealth; domestic sorrows; sudden changes of circumstance; the faithlessness of friends; the ingratitude of those on whom they have conferred favours; undeserved reproach and slander; . . . . . In these various ways, they may suffer more, at a stroke, than a Monk is likely to suffer, in his cell, during a life-time. A Monastery is, in some sort, a refuge and a port. . . . . So that immunity from some kinds of misfortune might come to be an evil, if a Monastic Superior did not make special provision to meet the case.
—Le Bouthillier de Rance: *Lettre sur le sujet des Humiliations de Religion* (1677).

Like their great Founder, the early Franciscans really "wedded Poverty," and for a time their Communities were characterized by an almost pilgrim-like simplicity of life. But long before the occurrence of those manifest departures from the primitive strictness of their rule, which created such a war of words, and threatened the very existence of their Order, they gave indications of literary tastes, and of that tendency to amass books

by which such tastes are commonly accompanied. Permission to own books occurs amongst the earliest of those relaxations of the rigid vow of poverty which were accorded by the Popes, and it was not long before both the Franciscan cord and the Dominican cowl became familiar sights to the manuscript-vendors. For the new Monks, unlike their predecessors, and despite their mendicancy, preferred the purchase of books to their transcription; and they evinced such keenness in the quest, as to cause formal complaint to be made to the Pope,[1] that scarcely could other ecclesiastics purchase a profitable book either in Divinity or in Arts, in Medicine or in Law, "all books being bought by Friars, so that in every Convent of Friars there is a large and noble Library." Very similar (save for its manlier tone) is the testimony of the author of the *Philobiblon*, RICHARD of Bury, Bishop of Durham: "When we happened to turn aside to the towns and places where the Mendicants had Convents," he says: "we were not slack in visiting their . . . books; for there, amidst the deepest poverty, we found the most precious riches treasured up; there, in their wallets and baskets, we discovered not only the crumbs that fell from the Master's table, . . . but indeed the shew-bread without leaven, the bread of angels. . . . These are the ants that lay up in harvest; the laborious bees that are continually fabricating cells of honey. . . . And that the truth may be honoured (saving

Richard of Bury on the Libraries of Franciscans and Dominicans

1 In the famous oration of Richard Fitzralph (afterwards Archbishop of Armagh), entitled *Defensorium curatorum adversus eos qui privilegiatos se dicunt; habitum Avenione coram D. Papa* Innocentio IV....5 Julii 1350. (Paris, 1633. 8vo.)

the opinion of any man), although these may have lately entered the Lord's vineyard, at the eleventh hour, . . . they have nevertheless in that shortest hour trained more layers of the sacred books than all the rest of the vine-dressers, following the footsteps of Paul, who, being the last in vocation but the first in preaching, most widely spread the Gospel of Christ. Amongst these we had some of two of the Orders, namely, preachers (Dominicans) and Minors (Franciscans), who were raised to the Pontifical state, who had stood at our elbows, and been the guests of our family; men in every way distinguished as well by their morals as by their learning, and who had applied themselves with unwearied industry to the compilation, correction, explanation, and indexing, of various volumes. Indeed," . . . he adds, . . . "we must in justice extol the Preachers with an especial commendation, for we found them, above all other religious devotees, ungrudging of their most acceptable communications, and overflowing with a certain divine liberality; we experienced them not to be selfish hoarders, but meet professors of enlightened knowledge."[1]

Franciscan Libraries in London and Oxford.

It does not appear that any very early notices of Libraries, belonging either to Franciscan or to Dominican Communities in England, are now extant. The most considerable Franciscan collection seems to have been that of the London Monastery (on the site of the

1 *Philobiblon*, c. viii. I quote Mr. Inglis's translation, as before, but with a few words altered.

present Christ's Hospital, near Newgate Street), for which the first stone of a new building was laid with much solemnity by Sir Richard WHITTINGTON, Lord Mayor of London, on the 21st October, 1421. The building was covered in before the winter of 1422, and within three years was completely finished and furnished with books. It was a handsome room, one hundred and twenty-nine feet in length and thirty-one feet in breadth; was shelved and wainscotted throughout; having "twenty-eight desks and eight double settles." The entire cost, in the money of that day, was no less than £556 10s. 0d., of which sum £400 was defrayed by WHITTINGTON, and the remainder by Thomas WINCHELSEY (probably the collector of various benefactions), a brother of the Order. It is also recorded, that after the completion of the new building one hundred marks were expended on the transcription of the works of Nicholas DE LYRA, to be chained in the Library.[1]

The Oxford Franciscans had also a considerable Library, or rather (according to Anthony WOOD) two separate collections in the same house; the one the Convent Library, the other the Library of the Schools. Robert GREATHEAD, Bishop of Lincoln, who had always shewn a special regard for the Grey Friars, and, above all, for one of their then most famous doctors, Adam de MARISCO, bequeathed his books to this Community

1 STOW: *Survey*, i. (Book iii.), 130 (Strype's edit.) Stevens' Additions to Dugdale, in the *Monasticon*, vi. 1520.

at his death in 1253.[1] They were particularly diligent in collecting the works of writers of their own Order, a complete assemblage of whom would undoubtedly look formidable for its extent, whatever its intrinsic merits. Anthony Wood echoes the old cry against the book covetousness of the Mendicants, adding something from his own observation. "The Friars of all Orders," he says, "and chiefly the Franciscans, used so diligently to procure all monuments of literature from all parts, that wise men looked upon it as an injury to laymen, who therefore found a difficulty to get any books. . . . . These Friars, as I have found by many ancient manuscripts, bought many Hebrew books of the Jews, who were disturbed in England. In a word, they, to their utmost power purchased whatsoever . . . [books] were to be had of singular learning."[2]

Of the Libraries of English Dominicans, there are but very meagre accounts. At Oxford, they had a collection of considerable extent, but no catalogue of it has survived. In their pains to gather the works of writers of their own Order, they vied with the Franciscans and the Carmelites, and they were probably not more critical or more severe in testing the pretensions of some doubtful authors to figure on their roll. The "occult sciences"—if they can rightly be so termed—

1 . . . Præ ceteris etiam familiarem habuit fratrem Adam de Marisco . . . . . ob cujus affectionem libros suos omnes conventui fratrum minorum Oxoniæ in testamento legavit.—Nic. Triveti *Annales* . . . . Recensuit T. Hog (*Eng. Hist. Soc.* 1845), p. 243.

2 Ant. à Wood, MSS. quoted in *Monasticon*, *ut supra*, pp. 1527-8.

had, it is said, greater charms for Dominicans than the toil of transcribing MSS. But, as we have seen, they were liberal buyers, and not mean authors. A very eminent French historian and critic has, indeed, gone so far as to say that, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries inclusive, literature was cultivated mainly by Dominican Monks.[1]

Library of SS. John and Paul at Venice.

The choicest of the MSS. of the famous old Monastery of St. John and St. Paul at Venice, were collected by Joachimo DELLA TORRE, a Friar of that house, and afterwards General of his Order (who died in 1500), and by Girolamo VIELMO, Bishop of Citta Nuova. MONTFAUCON visited this Library in 1698, in company with Apostolo ZENO, and he gives a list of the MSS. which especially attracted his attention.

Amongst Greek Theological MSS. it includes works of St. Basil and of St. Gregory Nazianzen, of the twelfth century; of St. Thomas Aquinas, of the fourteenth. In classics: the Orations of Aristides, transcribed in the eleventh century; a Thucydides of the same date, on vellum; a Suidas of the fourteenth, which is described as being on silk; the Byzantine *History* of George Cedrenus written in 1284; and a long series of Greek Historians transcribed by Cæsar STRATEGUS, thought by

1 Daunou, in speaking of the great work of Quétif and Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*. "Father Quétif could not, indeed," says his biographer, "complete this book, but he wrote eight hundred notices, and these the most important, since they relate to the Dominican authors of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, a period when literature was more cultivated in the Monasteries than elsewhere, and principally in those of the Preaching Friars." Daunou, art. *Quétif*, in the *Biographie Universelle*, xxxvi. 407.

MONTFAUCON to be one of the scribes employed by LORENZO at Florence. In Latin occur several Chronicles transcribed in the fifteenth century, and an alphabetical *Dictionary of Illustrious Men* of the same date, compiled by Giovanni COLONNA, and worthy, notes MONTFAUCON, to be printed.

This collection continued to be an object of curiosity until the dissolution of the Monastery in 1789, when most of the MSS. were transferred to the Library of St. Mark. It doubtless owed much of its celebrity to the circumstance, that it was placed amidst ecclesiastical buildings of high antiquity and great magnificence. The Library itself was richly and singularly decorated,—with carvings in wood by Giacomo PIAZETTO; with portraits of eminent Dominicans by DE ROCHIS, TALEPIETRA, and LANCETTA; and with rows of Caryatide-like statues of famous Churchmen on the one side; and of famous "Heretics" on the other.

Franciscan Libraries at Annaberg, and at Oschatz.

Of the Libraries of the Continental disciples of St. Francis, I can give but very brief notices. The first is drawn from an undated Catalogue of the collection belonging to those of Annaberg, in Saxony. From its contents, the Catalogue would appear to be of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. In the year 1558, the Convent was secularized, and its Library, or what then remained of it, bestowed on the Public School of Annaberg, where it is still preserved.

It contains the Biblical *Commentaries* of DE LYRA, and minor expositions of portions of Holy Writ; a series of hortatory and expository works in German;

a series of Patristic works; together with portions only of the works of St. Thomas Aquinas.

In classics, it includes Virgil,[1] Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, and Tibullus; chiefly in codices of the fifteenth century. Homer appears only in Latin, "*per* Pindarum *insignem oratorem de Græco traductus*"; a metrical Æsop also occurs; and a tract *De ludo scaccorum*. There are also some curious entries of mediæval German poetry.

Another small Library of Saxon Franciscans,—that of the Friars Minors of Oschatz,—of which there is a MS. list or index in the Royal Archives of Dresden,[2] of the year 1541, presents a contrast to that of their brethren of Annaberg in the entire absence of the classic poets, and indeed of everything that does not come within the quadruple pale of Biblical, Patristic, Scholastical, or Juridical learning. Scholastic Divinity is its dominant feature.

Its Catalogue, representing a Franciscan Library of almost the middle of the sixteenth century will, in most respects, compare but poorly with the Benedictine Catalogues of almost any date. Yet the Community was one of some celebrity. If, indeed, we are to understand it as a list of the MS. portion only, some of its deficiencies *may* have been supplied in printed books.[3] The works of the great Angelic Doctor abound; and the narrowness of the selection is sufficiently obvious. But it may be

1 One of the Virgils was written at Cracow, in 1467.

2 It is printed by Dr. Julius Petzholdt, in his *Urkündliche Nachrichten zur Geschichte der sächsischen Bibliotheken* (Dresden, 1855, 8vo.), 24.

3 The title, as given by Petzholdt, leaves the point doubtful: *Index* librorum *in Cœnobio Franciscanorum Oschatziensi asservatorum, a.* 1541 *descriptus.* The Editor supplies not a word of comment.

well to bear in mind a pregnant remark to be found in those *Guesses at Truth; by Two Brothers*, which have more both of depth and of solidity about them than the absolute conclusions of many writers:—"When any one declaims against the Schoolmen, I would hold up the *Summa Theologiæ* of St. Thomas AQUINAS, and desire him to read and to understand it, before he presumed to assert that there is nothing in the Schoolmen. This argument would knock him down as effectually as JOHNSON's folio knocked down the poor bookseller."[1]

Franciscan Library at Bamberg.

The Franciscans of Bamberg, in much later days, had collected a Library remarkable for the extent to which modern literature was represented in it, as well as the learning of ancient and of mediæval times. It descended to the existing Royal Library of Bamberg—for that collection is at once a Town Library and a Royal one—so conspicuous even amongst the Libraries of Germany on two accounts:—for the ability and zeal with which it has been improved and organized (as I have occasion to shew, in its place); and also for the great extent to which its treasures have been drawn from Monastic sources. But the Franciscan collection descended to the town in an impoverished condition. For a time, it had been administered by a Scottish Benedictine of Ratisbon, Maurus HORN, who, during the last decade of the eighteenth century, stripped it of many of

1 HARE: *Guesses at Truth*, ii. 64.

its secular gems, in order (as it seems, Benedictine though he was) to increase the stores of Scholastic theology. Many of the volumes, so parted with, came into England.[1]

1 JAECK : *Die Bambergische Bibliothek*, 2r Th., p. 69.

CHAPTER VI.

The Economy of the Mediæval Church and Monastic Libraries.

> Meanwhile along the cloister's painted side
> The Monks (each bending low upon his book,
> With head on hand reclined) their studies plied:
> Forbid to parley, or in front to look,
> Lengthways their regulated seats they took.
> The strutting Prior gazed with pompous mien
> And wakeful tongue, prepared with prompt rebuke,
> If Monk asleep in sheltering hood was seen,—
> He, wary, often peeped beneath that russet screen.
> Hard by, against the windows' adverse light,
> Where desks were wont in length of row to stand,
> The gown'd artificers inclined to write;
> The pen of silver glistened in the hand;
> Some on their fingers rhyming Latin scann'd;
> Some textile gold from balls unwinding drew,
> And on strain'd velvet stately portraits plann'd;
> Here arms, there faces, shone in embryo view,
> At last to glittering life the total figures grew.
> —Fosbrooke: *British Monachism*, 529.

In many of the Monastic Communities both the Library *(Armarium)* and its great feeder the writing-room *(Scriptorium)* were under the immediate charge of the "Precentor and Armarius." The very usual conjunction in one person of these offices of Leader of the Choir, and Keeper of the MSS., grew naturally enough out of the fact that at first most of the books which had to be taken care of were Breviaries and other service-books. Just as naturally, the task of superintending the transcription of manuscripts was often entrusted to the same hands which already had the general charge of them. But the practice in this respect seems to have greatly varied in different Communities.

In those *Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis Monasterii*, which, as we have seen already, were collected by Monk ULRIC for the information of the Abbot of Hirschau, occurs a long chapter, *De Præcentore et Armario*,[1] which begins thus: "*Armarii nomen obtinuit eo quod in ejus manu solet esse Bibliotheca, quæ et in alio nominem Armarium appelatur.*[2] *Hæc est obedientia, quam ex more nullus meretur, nisi nutritus.*" . . . . . .

Duties of the Monastic Librarian.

In the strictly bibliothecal part of his functions, the *Armarius* had necessarily a wide discretion, especially as respects his methods of working. In the arrangement of the books, for instance, very much would depend on the accidents of locality; definite rules are therefore scarcely to be expected. In the *Consuetudines veteres* of the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris, there is,

1 Printed in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, iv. 185-188.

2 Comp. Du Cange, § *Armaria:* "3. ARMARIA. Bibliotheca. Vetus Interpres Juvenalis, Sat. iii. 219. *Armariam sive Bibliothecam.* S. Wilhelmi Constitut. Hirsaug. ii. 16. *Prior noviter electus post domnum Abbatem de omnibus rebus et causis, quæ ad Monasterium pertinent se intromittit, nise de thesauro Ecclesiæ* et de Armaria, *quæ in potestate Abbatis consistunt.* ARMARIUM, Eadem notione Latini scriptores usurpant. Gloss. Saxon. Ælfrici: *Bibliotheca, vel armarium vel Archivum, boochord; i. e.* librorum thesaurus. . . . . Ita *Amaire* nostri usurparunt. Le Roman d'Alexandre, MS.:

> Cele estoire trouvons escrite,
> Que vous vueil raconter et ratraire,
> En un des livres de l'*Amaire*,
> Monseigneur S. Père à Biauvés,
> De la fu cist livres retrais."—

Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, i. 397 (Henschel, 1840). Of less frequent occurrence are the words *Libraria* and *Librarium*, *e. g.* Monachus Altiosod. Ann. 960: *Claustrum quoque Canonicorum crematum est*, Librariumque *et ornamenta ecclesiæ.* Will. Thorn. in Chron. c. 21, § 16: *D. Abbas . . . in tituit ut singulis* annis in *perpetuum in principio Quadragesimæ, die qua* Librarium *defertur in Capitulum, vivorum animæ commendentur, et absolvantur animæ dejunctorum, per quos* Librarium *hujus Ecclesiæ fuerit aliqualiter emendatum.* Ibid. iv. 102.

indeed, a direction that the books should not be too much crowded together;[1] but, with this exception, a considerable collection of monastic statutes—minute as it is of their essence to be—might be examined without anything on this head being met with. As respects Catalogues, however, many passages occur in the various codes, some of which will merit notice hereafter.

The regulations respecting the issue and loan of books must needs have been stringent when every volume represented a formidable amount of labour; when many volumes could only be replaced by a special embassy to another Monastery; and when some could not be replaced at all. But there is abundant evidence that, at least in the large and eminent Monasteries, these rules were liberally construed on proper occasion. They fall obviously under two heads: the one relating to the delivery of books to the brethren of the Monastery itself; the other to the loan of books to strangers.

Regulations concerning the issue of books.

An express regulation concerning the use of the Library by the Monks occurs in the 48th chapter of the *Rule* of St. Benedict, and reads thus: *In diebus Quadragesimæ accipiant (fratres) omnes singulos codices de bibliotheca quos per ordinem ex integro legant. Qui codices in caput Quadragesimæ dandi sunt.* This regular annual delivery of books at Lent to every member of

1 "In quo [*i. e.* in Armario] etiam diversi ordines seorsum ac seorsum distincti et convenienter coaptati esse debent, in quibus libri separatum ita collocari possint et distingui ab invicem, ne vel nimia compressio ipsis libris noceat, vel confusio aliquid specialiter in eis quærenti moram afferat vel impedimentum."—MARTENE: *De antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*, iii. 262, App. (VOGEL: *Einiges über Amt und Stellung des Armarius*, etc., *Serap.* iv. 40.)

the Community became the established practice of nearly all the Benedictine Monasteries, and continued, with slight modifications, during almost the whole of the mediæval period.[1]

The precise day on which this annual partition was to be made, depended, at first, on the will of the Abbot or other Superior; but, after the Cluniac and Cistercian reforms, it was usually fixed by statute. Howsoever fixed, it then became the duty of the *Armarius* to spread out, on a carpet in the Chapter-House, the books assigned for circulation during the coming year. After mass, the Monks were assembled; the appropriate sections of the *Rule* and *Constitutions* were read; and the Armarius then proceeded to call over the names of the Monks, each of whom had to answer to his name, and to return the book he had borrowed a year before. In certain Communities it was the practice for the Abbot to put some question on the contents of each book so returned, with the view of ascertaining that it had been read carefully. If the answer was satisfactory, the borrower was then asked what other book he desired to have; if unsatisfactory, the book was redelivered with an intimation that on the next occasion a better result would be expected. The Armarius (or his assistant) kept a *Brevis librorum* or register, an example of which may be seen in Herrgott's *Vetus dis-*

1 VOGEL, *ut supra*, p. 43, (where many references are given to passages on this subject in the various Benedictine Constitutions). This Essay, like that writer's other papers on such subjects, is characterized by a most painstaking comparison of authorities. I am under repeated obligations to his labours in these pages.

2 Pp. 119, 120; VOGEL, *ut supra*, 51.

ciplina monastica.[2] In the Carthusian Houses the issue of two books at a time appears to have been permitted:

Adhuc etiam libros ad legendum accipit (frater) *duos quibus omnem diligentiam curamque præbere jubetur ne fumo, ne pulvere, vel alia quaque sorde maculentur.*[1]

How very far the cautions contained in this last-named regulation were from being superfluous is curiously illustrated in the 17th chapter of Bishop RICHARD [d'Aungerville] of Bury's *Philobiblon*, under the heading: *Of handling books in a cleanly manner and keeping them in order.* But we must charitably hope that some of the grosser examples of the abuse of books, which so roused the good Bishop's indignation, were but rarely seen in Monasteries.

As respects the loan of books to strangers, there is considerable variety in the regulations of different Orders and Communities. But the principle most usually adopted was that of lending on pledge. We read for example in the *Antiquæ Consuetudines Canonicorum Regularium S. Victoris Parisiensis:—Nunquam Armarius libros præstare debet, nisi ab eo, cui præstat, vadimonium accipiat; ita ut si persona ignota fuerit, et æquivalens sit ipsum vadimonium et nomen illius, cui præstat, et vadimonium, quod accipit, in brevi annotatum retineat. Majores autem et pretiosores libros sine licentia Abbatis præstare non debet.*[2]

Many regulations on this section of conventual economy occur in the Acts of General Chapters and Councils. Usually they tend to restrict the practice, or

1 *Statutæ antiquæ ordinis Carthusianorum*, c. xvi. § 9.

2 MARTENE: *De antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*, tom. iii. App. p. 262.

at all events to guard it from abuse, by the multiplication of conditions and forms; but sometimes, as at the Council of Rouen in 1214, they aim at the removal of subsisting impediments: e. g. *Interdicimus inter alia viris religiosis ne emittant juramenta de non commodandis libris indigentibus, cum commodare inter præcipua opera reputetur misericordiæ. Quocirca . . . . alii ad opus fratrum in domo retineantur, alii secundum providentiam abbatis, cum indemnitate domus indigentibus commodentur, &c.*[1]

Sometimes, when books were lent expressly for transcription, it was stipulated that a copy should accompany the borrowed MS. on its return. Thus, when St. BERNARD's Secretary, NICHOLAS, had sent two volumes of his master's works to PETER of Celle, he wrote to him: "Make haste to copy these quickly, and send them to me; and, according to my bargain, cause a copy to be made for me. And both those which I have sent to you, and the copies, as I have said, return them to me, and take care that I do not lose a single tittle."[2] How extensively this "Commercium librorum" was carried on by Monks may be readily seen, by way of examples, in the many letters on the subject which PEZ has gathered from the annals (between the years 983 and 1001) of a single Monastery,—that of Tegernsee,—and has printed in the sixth volume of his *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*. Amongst the books mentioned in this Tegernsee

1 BESSIN: *Concilia Rotomagensia*, 118, 119. (VOGEL: *ubi supra.*)

2 *Bibl. Cluniacensis*, lib. i., as quoted by MAITLAND: *The Dark Ages*, 448 (3rd edit.)

correspondence are the *Historia Tripartita*, a Horace, a Statius, a Persius, a Juvenal, a Boëthius. MAITLAND has given a good summary of it, in his excellent volume of mediæval Essays, entitled *The Dark Ages*.

The labours of Othlonus at St. Emmeram's, Ratisbon;

Both MABILLON and PEZ have printed interesting notices of an eminently laborious scribe of St. Emmeram's Monastery at Ratisbon, a certain OTHLONUS, who lived and worked in the eleventh century. These notices are based on an autobiographical tract of the good Monk of St. Emmeram, entitled *De ipsius tentationibus, varia fortuna, et scriptis*. OTHLONUS began at an unusually early age, and at Tegernsee, the training-place of not a few of the best of the Monastic transcribers in its region. Thence he went into Franconia. At St. Emmeram, he was schoolmaster, as well as scribe and author. He transcribed many *Lectionaries*, many *Missals*, various works of Theology, many copies of the *Gospels*. His activity was so great that he supplied many books to Fulda, to Hirschfeld, to Amerbach, to Lortsch, to Prigel, to Passau, and to Tegernsee, his first abode, as well as to the beloved Monastery in which he passed his best years. At one time he had almost made himself blind with his unwearied labours.[1]

and those of Diemudis at Wessobrunn.

Not less conspicuous was the industry, in like labours, of DIEMUDIS, a devout Nun of Wessobrunn in Bavaria, who flourished in the same century. The annalist of Wessobrunn describes a long series of *Missals;* one still longer of *Gospels*, and of *Gospel Lessons;* two complete *Bibles*, extending to five volumes ; eight volumes of the

1 MABILLON : *Vetera Analecta,* iv., p. 448; PEZ : *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus,* tom. iii., p. x.; Pez: Introd. to *Thes. Anec.*, tom. i., p. xx.

writings of St. Gregory the Great, including his famous *Commentary on Job;* nine volumes of the Works of St. Augustine; a Collection of the *Letters of St. Jerome;* many *Lives of the Saints;* several Works on the General History of the Church; a Collection of the *Homilies* of various Fathers, in three volumes; together with Origen's *Commentaries on the Old Testament*, a Collection of *Canons*, and a series of tracts on the Holy Eucharist. Nearly fifty volumes are recorded as coming from the pen of this one labourer in the writing-room of Wessobrunn.

Of earnest labourers in this field, not unworthy to rank with OTHLONUS and DIEMUDIS, it would not be difficult to make a long list. But these will be sufficient as specimens of an estimable class; as indications of much devout and unobtrusive work, by which directly and indirectly succeeding ages have benefited, and which, in the aggregate, must needs constitute no mean set-off, if I may so speak, against the account of Monastic indolence and corruption. That such work, when it came to be performed rather as routine drudgery than as the labour of love, should often have been done carelessly, is natural and certain enough. Two other things, however, are at least equally plain: the one, that early monastic scribes had a keen sense of the responsibility which attended the transcriber's task, and took pains to impress it on those who should follow them; the other, that such inquirers into this subject as have most patiently investigated mediæval literature, are uniformly the most charitable in their views of the shortcomings of the monkish scribes, and the most ready

to acknowledge the largeness of that debt of gratitude, which their toils have imposed on all who have "entered into their labours."

"I adjure you who shall transcribe this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by His glorious coming, who will come to judge the quick and the dead, that you compare what you transcribe, and diligently correct it by the copy from which you transcribe it, with this adjuration also, and insert it in your copy."[1] Such a caution as this is not unfrequently met with in books which were the staple of the Monastic Scriptorium, and injunctions of similar tendency repeatedly occur in the *Constitutions* of various Communities.

Regulations of the Monastic Writing Rooms and Cells.

The tasks of the copyists appear in the earlier ages of Monachism to have been usually carried on in company; but sometimes singly, each Scribe occupying his *scriptoriolum*, or little writing-cell, apart. Such a cell was perhaps not unlike that which is thus described by "Secretary NICHOLAS," towards the close of the twelfth century, as opening into the apartment of the Novices; with a cloister close at hand for needful exercise. "My tenement," he adds, "is a pleasant place to look upon; comfortable for retirement; and filled with choice and Divine books. . . . . Here, I read, write, compose, meditate, pray. . . . Here I adore the Lord of Majesty."[2]

It seems that subsequently to the period to which this extract relates, the use of the separate cells for writing-purposes increased, probably because it was

1 *Preface to Ælfric's Homilies*, MS. Lansd. 373 (quoted in MERRYWEATHER'S *Bibliomania in the Middle Ages*, 22.)

2 *Bibl. Clun.*, ut supra; quoted by MAITLAND: *The Dark Ages*, 404, 405.

found difficult to enforce obedience in the congregation of scribes to that main point of monastic discipline,—silence. At a Chapter of the Cistercian Order, held in 1134, the rule enjoining the observance of silence, as strictly in the Scriptorium as in the Cloister, was expressly insisted on:—*In omnibus scriptoriis ubicunque ex consuetudine Monachi scribunt, silentium teneatur, sicut in claustro.*[1]

It is neither needful nor practicable here to enter minutely into the particular regulations of the Monastic Scriptoria. One or two of the more important passages may, however, be concisely indicated. Thus in the nineteenth chapter of the *Liber Ordinis S. Victoris Parisiensis*, as quoted by DUCANGE, from the original MS., we read: *Quicunque de fratribus intra claustrum scriptores sunt, et quibus officium scribendi ab Abbate injunctum est, omnibus iis Armarius providere debet, quid scribant, et quæ ad scribendum necessaria sunt, præbere, nec quisquam eorum aliud scribere, quam ille præceperit. . . . Loca etiam determinata ad ejusmodi opus seorsum a Conventu, tamen intra claustrum, præparanda sunt, ubi sine perturbatione et strepitu Scriptores operi suo quietius intendere possint. Ibi autem sedentes et operantes, silentium diligenter servare debent, nec extra quoquam otiose vagari. Nemo ad eos intrare debet, excepto Abbate, et Priore, et Sub-priore, et Armario.*[2] Again in the ancient Constitutions of the Carthusians, c. 36: *. . . . Hoc autem esse debet specialiter opus tuum, . . .*

1 Rainardus Abbas Cisterciensis, in *Constitut.* cap. ult., as quoted by DUCANGE: *Glossarium*, etc., vi. 131.

2 DUCANGE, in voce *Scriptores*, ut sup.

libris scribendis operam diligenter impendas. Hoc siquidem speciale esse debet opus Cartusiensium inclusorum;

and elsewhere: *Porro si ita providerit Prior, unum est cui in operatione specialiter intendere debes, ut videlicet et scribere discas, si tamen addiscere potes, et si potes, et scis, ut scribas. Hoc quodammodo opus, opus immortale est: opus si dicere licet, non transiens, sed manens: opus itaque, ut sic dicamus, et non opus: opus denique, quod inter omnia alia opera magis decet viros religiosos literatos.*[1]

In many of the Scriptoria the division of labour seems to have been carried to a degree which has scarcely been exceeded even in the workshops of Birmingham in our own day. Take, for an example, the instructions of Abbot TRITHEIM to the transcribers and artists of the Abbey of Sponheim: "Let one Monk transcribe; another, revise; a third, point and rubricate; a fourth, illumine; a fifth, prepare boards and leather; a sixth, collate the sheets and bind them;" and so on; for the enumeration of minute shares of labour extends much further, and goes curiously into detail.

Less minute, but not less interesting, are those early verses of admonition which ALCUIN wrote on the duties of the Scriptorium—or more accurately, perhaps, those verses still older than ALCUIN'S day, which he improved and has preserved for us. They have been often quoted, but may not unfitly adorn these brief notices of the Economy of Monastic Libraries.

1 Ibid.

Alcuin's description of the labours of the Scriptorium.

Hic sedeant sacræ scribentes famina legis
Nec non sanctorum dicta sacrata Patrum,
Hic interserere caveant sua frivola verbis,
Frivola nec propter erret et ipsa manus.

Correctosque sibi quærant studiose libellos,
Tramite quo recto penna volantis eat.
Per cola distinguant proprios, et commata sensus,
Et punctos ponant ordine quosque suo.

Ne vel falsa legat, taceat vel forte repente,
Ante pios fratres, lector in Ecclesia.
Est decus egregium sacrorum scribere libros,
Nec mercede sua scriptor et ipse caret.

Fodere quam vites, malius est scribere libros,
Ille suo ventri serviet, iste animæ,
Vel nova, vel vetera poterit proferre magister
Plurima, quisque legis dicta sacrata Patrum.[1]

In later times the growth of ornamentation made the Monastic writing and illuminating rooms resemble still more strongly a great literary Factory. At first, the only illuminations were coloured initial-letters, more or less elaborate. In the seventh century, the ornamentation invades the margins; then, gradually spreads over the pages; at the beginning somewhat formal, it becomes rich, beautiful, elaborate; and in many instances, over-elaboration leads to wild extravagance. The fanciful, the grotesque, comes at length to take the place of the graceful. In Paris, controversies about the fitness or unfitness of extreme richness of ornamentation for books of the cloister had a powerful influence on the beginnings of that great secular trade of copyists and miniaturists

1 Comp. ALCUINI *Opera.* ii. 211, with DUCANGE, *ubi supra.*

for which the French capital became eventually so famous.[1]

Catalogues of Monastic Libraries.

In the economy of Libraries, whether ancient or modern, there is nothing more important than the character of their Catalogues. A poor Library, with a good Catalogue, will often be of more utility to the student than a rich Library with a bad or carelessly compiled one. We cannot expect that in the very infancy of bibliography Monastic Catalogues should be models. They were of course defective in plan, and not unfrequently bear the marks of carelessness in execution. Yet on some points they will contrast favourably with Catalogues of not inconsiderable collections, printed at the cost of wealthy persons in our own days.

Perhaps the largest collection of early, and especially of Monastic Lists of books, that has ever been made, is that in the Royal Library of Munich. It has accumulated by the absorption into that vast repository of many conventual Collections, and is said to number nearly 600 separate Catalogues, including, as may well be imagined, specimens of almost all known varieties.[2]

Weihenstephan Catalogue.

Amongst these is a Catalogue of the Library of the Benedictine Abbey of Weihenstephan, compiled in the twelfth century, which begins thus: *Hæc est noticia librorum Catholicorum Ecclesiæ S. Stephani*, imprimis *qui pertinent ad divinum servitium.* Then follow *alii libri a fratribus in capitolo et ad mensam et ad colla, legendi*, all

1 SCHWARZ: *Hist. de l'Imprimerie. Paris et ses Historiens* (Hist. Gén.) pp. 450, 451 (1872).

2 SCHMELLER: *Ueber Büchercatalogue des XV. und früherer Jahrhunderte* (*Serapeum*, ii. 243).

of which are theological, or devotional; these are followed by scientific, poetical, and historical books, indiscriminately. Here, the only classification is that resulting from the different uses to which the books were applied, under the Monastic regulations.

Catalogue of the Library of St. Emmeram, Ratisbon.

In the Catalogue of the Library of the Monastery of St. Emmeram at Ratisbon, the arrangement is that of the desks or book-cases in which the volumes were placed. Of these there were thirty-two. Beginning with the text of Holy Scripture, followed by Commentaries, and the Works of the Fathers; the sequence of Theological books is interrupted at Press XVI. by "History," which is probably a necessity of local construction; the numeration of the presses appearing to indicate that groups of them, along the main wall, were allotted to the more richly provided classes of books, and the narrow "end-presses" to the poorer classes. "Law," "Arts," "Polygraphy," follow after Theology. Hortatory Divinity and portions of the Bible fill the last two presses as numbered; the position of which brought them probably next to the first.

Another Catalogue of the same collection, apparently written about 1460, preserves the same general arrangement, with certain improvements in details. Forty years later, comes a new arrangement introduced by Brother Dionysius MENGER, whose Catalogue divides the Library into (1) Vellum MSS.; (2) Paper MSS.; (3) Printed Books. These sections are subdivided into the letters of the alphabet, and these again by figures, extending usually to 20 under each letter. Thus of the 420 vellum MSS., the first (*Papias sive Mater Verborum, in*

magno volumine et antiqua bona scriptura) is marked A. 1.; and the last (*Tabula notabilis et magistralis, in pergameno et affixa bitumine baculo, et circumligatur fune canopeo et dicitur Tabula Itaf, sive quatuor regiones quatuor elementorum habens in fronte imaginem monachi et medici depictam, &c.*) is marked X. 16. Similarly, the paper MSS. run from A. 1 to I. 3; and the printed books from A. 1 to N. 9. Of the latter, however, such as were added subsequently to the first compilation of the Catalogue are without marks. But the whole number of these printed books is less than that of the paper MSS., and those again are fewer than the MSS. on vellum. This arrangement, and for the most part the usual chaining of the books to their desks, continued to subsist during some portion at least of the seventeenth century.[1]

Tegernsee Catalogue.

As I have had occasion to mention already, the Benedictines of Tegernsee were famous for their cultivation of letters during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. In the thirteenth and fourteenth they underwent the usual partial eclipse, but emerged again in the fifteenth century under the rule, succes sively, of the Abbots Caspar and Conrad, which extended from 1426 to 1492. Of their Library there is preserved (at Munich, like the preceding specimens) a Catalogue, beginning thus: A.D. 1483, *Sub regimine . . . Conradi quarti de Weilheim ven. Monasterii S. Quirini R. et M. in Tegrinsee, ord. S. Benedicti Frising. diœc. abbatis dignissimi, inventi ac recensiti*

1 Schmeller, *ut supra*, 273, 274.

sunt in Bibliotheca nostra, sequentes doctores egregii ac magistri reverendi cum suis libris, tractatibus atque aliis variis opusculis, sermonibus et doctrinis cum quotis, (*i. e.* the head-mark, or letter and number affixed on a strip of parchment to the cover of each book,) *eorundem, ubi quærendi sunt, prout infra positi sunt cum eorum propriis nominibus secundam ordinem alphabeti.*

In addition to the author's name and to the title of the book catalogued, his rank, birth-place or dwelling-place, and often his date,[1] are supplied. The Christian names, or other *prænomina*, are taken, and appear of course according to the peculiar though very flexible orthography of the period. Thus "Wilhelmus" and "Wolfgangus" must be searched for under *Billhelmus* and *Bolfgangus*, "Horatius" under *Oratius*. Cicero appears, of course, as *Tullius*. The B. Virgin Mary figures as the author of an *Epistola ad S. Ignatium*.[2]

1 In this excellent particular, the fifteenth-century monk anticipated the practice lately revived by the admirable librarian, Mr. Samuel Halkett, when cataloguing the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh.

2 The following may serve as a brief example of the entries in this Catalogue:—

"Francisci ds. Florencia Petrarchæ hermitæ et poetæ laureati Liber de vita solitaria. E, 53.

—— Secretum de contemptu mundi per modum dialogi cum S. Augustino C. 29. E. 53.

—— Epistola ad solitarium quemdam de laude vitæ ejusdem, et Epistola ipsius solitarii responsalis ad eundem de dispositione vitæ suæ. E. 15.

—— Epistola exhortatoria ad germanum ejus Cartusianum. G. 58. 3.

(In the margin and in a later hand:)
Habemus opera ejus in pressura.

* * * *

A MS. note in this Catalogue, dated 1494, records the addition of 635 volumes to the Library during the ten years, from 1484 to 1493, inclusive, and states the then total number of volumes at 1738. These additions would necessarily be, for the most part, printed books. In the original Catalogue no difference appears to have been made between MS. volumes and printed volumes, but a similar note to that which occurs in the extract —"*Habemus . . . in pressura*"—is often met with. A succeeding Librarian placed on the last leaf of his predecessor's Catalogue the cautionary advertisement:

"Pro *Lucretio*, lege Rabanum, pro *Virgilio* Sedulium, pro *Ovidio*, Alanum, pro *Propertio* Lactantium, pro *Statio* Aratorem, pro *Catullo* Prosperum, pro *Tibullo* Juvencum, pro *Horatio* Prudentium, pro *Martiali Epigrammata*, Scintillæ, et Hermannum Buschium, pro *Lucano* Galtherum, pro *Juvenale* Baptistum Mantuanum," &c. But the writer of the admonition has left sufficient evidence that for his own part he had thought it worth while to acquire a very respectable familiarity with those Latin classics, which are the subject of his caution.

"FRIDERICI III. *Imperatoris, Ducis Austriæ* Scripta metra aliqua ad quendam Papam et e contra metra responsalia ejusdem Papæ ad eundem. N. 19. 2°.

* * * *

"PETRI ABELARDI *Philosophi* Liber egregius de Sic et non. K. 10. Liber cujus titulus Scito te ipsum. X. 1. *Magister Abelardus Parisiensis floruit tempore S. Benedicte abbatis. Hic in Hæresim cadens ab Innocentio condemnatur. Pretium Redemptionis evacuavit. Capitula in libris ejus reprehensibilia S. Benedictus annotavit in Epistola quam scripsit ad Innocentium Papam secundum, ut videtur.*" SCHMELLER, *ut supra*, 269-270.

CHAPTER VII.

Decline of Learning in the Monasteries;—their Dissolution in England;—the ruin and dispersion of their Libraries.

It was a chosen plot of fertile land,
Amongst wide waves set, like a little nest,
As if it had by nature's cunning hand,
Been choicely picked out from all the rest,
And laid forth for ensample of the best:
No dainty flower or herb that grows on ground,
No arboret with painted blossoms drest,
And smelling sweet, but there it might be found
To bud out fair, and her sweet smell threw all around.
No tree whose branches did not bravely spring;
No branch whereon a fine bird did not sit;
No bird but did her shrill notes sweetly sing;
No song but did contain a lovely dit.
Trees, branches, birds, and songs, were framed fit
For to allure frail mind to careless ease.
Careless the man soon woxe, and his weak wit
Was overcome of thing that did him please:
So pleased, did his (earnest) purpose fair appease.
—Spenser: *The Faerie Queene*, Book ii., Canto 6.

He was, to wit, a stout and sturdy thief,
Wont to rob Churches of their ornaments,
And poor men's boxes of their due relief
Which given was to them for good intents.
The holy Saints of their rich vestiments
He did disrobe, when all men careless slept;
And spoil'd the priests of their habiliments.
. . . . .
Most wretched wight, whom nothing might suffice,
Whose greedy lust did lack in greatest store;
Whose need had end, but no end covetise;
Whose wealth was want, whose plenty made him poor,
Who had enough, yet wished ever more.
—Spenser: *The Faerie Queene*, Book i., Cant. 3, 4.

It is not only in the more obvious sense of the enervating tendencies of too much prosperity, and of power insufficiently controlled, that the decline of English Monachism is bound up with its marvellous growth. When

Monasteries were rapidly founded, widely extended, and lavishly endowed, they could only be filled by lowering the standard (so to say) of admissible qualification. The temptations became more and more powerful; the training which alone (humanly speaking) made it possible that they might be successfully resisted, became less and less careful. In the vigorous words of Bishop AUNGERVILLE (addressed to the Friars of his day, but, in one sense or other, far more widely applicable), it was said: "You draw boys into your religion with hooks of apples, as the people commonly report, whom having professed, you do not instruct in doctrines by compulsion and fear as their age requires, but maintain them to go upon beggarly excursions, and suffer them to consume the time in which they might learn, in catching at the favours of their friends, to the offence of their parents, the danger of the boys, and the detriment of the Order." The good Bishop, in another portion of his treatise, says, in similar strain: "There used to be an anxious and reverential devotion in the culture of books, . . . and the clergy delighted in communing with them as their whole wealth; for many wrote them out with their own hands in the intervals of the canonical hours, and gave up the time appointed for bodily rest to the fabrication of volumes; those sacred treasuries of whose labours, filled with cherubic letters, are at this day resplendent in most Monasteries, to give the knowledge of salvation to students, and a delectable light to the paths of the laity. . . . . But now (we say it with sorrow), base THERSITES handles the arms of ACHILLES; the choicest

Richard of Bury on the decline of Monastic Learning and Discipline.

trappings are thrown away upon lazy asses; blinking night-birds lord it in the nests of eagles, and the silly kite sits on the perch of the hawk."[1] These earnest reproofs were written in 1344; little more than a century after the awakening trumpet-notes of FRANCIS of Assisi had been sounded in the ears of all men, and especially of Monks, with results so memorable.

Vicissitudes of Monachism.

In truth, the whole history of Monachism—like the history of so much else in which there is a large admixture of the human with the divine—is a perpetual see-saw of fall and recovery; of reform and corruption. In its early days the cloister was often the sole refuge of thoughtful and godly men from the tyranny of power, too little restrained by law, and of crime, unchecked by fear. In that solitude, the worship of GOD led men to ponder on the providence of GOD, and on the mysteries of the world within, as well as on the horrors of the world without. The earnest prayer, "Lord, what will thou have *me* to do?" led of necessity not alone to penitence but to aspiration. The God-fearing man learnt that when he had been enabled to bring himself under subjection to the divine law, he had but passed the threshold of his duty. He became conscious of faculties and powers, by the devout culture and exercise of which he might become the instrument of extending that subjection far and wide. In process of time, Monks of this stamp fitted themselves for governing, and by the working of that great providential law which, sooner or later, infallibly places the tools in the hand that has the skill to use them, the Monk took his

1 *Philobiblon*, c. v.; *ut supra*, pp. 33, 34.

place in the council chamber,—at the seat of justice,—even at the head of armies,—he did his work even there, and did it well.

But the hard tasks brought splendid reward. Gradually, the self-denial of the training gave way to the self-indulgence of the triumph. Monkish austerity was replaced by courtly luxury; Christian humility by worldly pride. The man who had learned the art of governing kingdoms, had lost the grace by which he had been enabled to govern himself. And meanwhile not a few of the crimes and vices which Monks of one generation had fought against in the world, the Monks of another generation had sheltered and fostered in the cloister. At length that devotion to study, that elaborate cultivation of the powers and faculties of the inner man, which had once made some of the wearers of cowls more than equal to the wearers of crowns, came to be matters of greater regard beyond the walls of Monasteries than within them. As ERASMUS expressed it,—on the eve of the Reformation,—"Heretofore the heart of learning was amongst such as professed Religion; now while they, for the most part, give themselves up, *ventri luxui pecuniæque*, the love of learning is gone from them to secular princes, the court, and the nobility."

The Controversy of Reuchlin with the Dominicans of Cologne.

The famous controversy of John REUCHLIN with the Dominicans of Cologne, affords a striking illustration of this statement. REUCHLIN, like so many others who were eminent in the revival of learning, owed much of his education to Monks. Of the masters whose instructions he has most frequently and gratefully recorded, one

was a Carthusian, another a Mathurin. With the Dominicans of Germany he had an official connection (as their Proctor,) during the greater part of his life. Even at his death, he bequeathed his Library to a Monastery. But some of the best years of his layman's life were spent in the effort to prevent Monks from burning books because they were in Hebrew. The Monks of Cologne were afraid that the currency of Jewish literature would obstruct the free course of Christianity, and by way of warding off this evil they proposed to deprive the Jews of all their books, except the Bible, and to commit them to the flames. This proposition came from one of those Mendicant Orders which a century before had won renown for their zeal in collecting Hebrew books for their own Libraries.

It is, however, but bare justice to the Dominicans to remember that whatever their ultimate folly in the conduct of this controversy, they were led into it at first by a pardonable eagerness to proselytize Jews into Christians, and by putting too much confidence in a very bad specimen of such a proselyte, whom they had the misfortune to make at the outset.

Two other facts must in fairness be borne in mind:—The one that the edict of August, 1509, for the burning of the Jewish books in Libraries, on which the whole matter primarily hinged, was an imperial, not an ecclesiastical edict. The other, that in the bosom of the Dominican Order itself, only fifteen years before the outbreak of this controversy, a new congregation had been formed, at the instance of SAVONAROLA, in the statutes of which express provision was made for the

cultivation of the Hebrew and Chaldaic tongues. But in order to this Dominican reform, the zealous Florentine had to obtain the sanction of an ALEXANDER VI. That sanction was granted, but it launched SAVONAROLA upon a path very different from the Roman path, and led him eventually to the martyr's stake. And in this fact we have an indication of one of the sources of no small part of the grosser corruption of the Monastic Orders. The Papal supremacy, instead of being the means of reformation had become, too often, the great obstacle to reformation. Its visitatorial powers, instead of being used for the encouragement of good, and the repression of bad Monks, were made the instruments of extortion and of crime of many kinds.

Even in better times, the remoteness of the superintending authority from many of the bodies over which it was to be exercised, became a very fruitful source of mischief. In England this was especially the case, on account of the number of alien Priories whose immediate government, as well as ultimate visitation, lay in foreign hands. All the Clugniac houses, for example, were entirely under foreign jurisdiction, and notwithstanding many attempts at partial reform, remained so until 1457. The Præmonstratensian houses, again, remained still longer under the rule of the Abbot of Premontré.[1] The English Parliament had, indeed, as early as 1307, restrained the Monks from carrying money out of the kingdom (by what the Act[2] describes as *diversa*

1 TANNER: *Notitia Monastica* (by Nasmyth), pref. ix.

2 *Statutes at large* (Tomline's edit.), i. 175.

tallagia, census et impositiones insolitas, graves et importabiles), but the evil, as to jurisdiction and visitation, remained without remedy until 1512; or almost until evil and remedy were to be swept away together, in that sharp and supreme "Visitation" which we have now to glance at.

Terms of the First Statute of Dissolution, A.D. 1535.

The first Act for the dissolution of the Monasteries is entitled: *An Act that all Religious Houses under the yearly revenue of* £200 *shall be dissolved and given to the King and his heirs.* Its preamble runs thus: "For as much as manifest sin, vicious, carnal and abominable living is daily used and committed commonly *in such little and small Abbeys, Priories, and other Religious Houses of Monks, Canons, and Nuns*, where the congregation of such religious persons is under the *number of twelve persons*, . . . to the high displeasure of Almighty God, ... so that without such small Houses be utterly suppressed, *and the religious persons therein be committed to great and honourable Monasteries* of Religion in this Realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously, ... there shall else be no redress or reformation in that behalf"; and then, after the further statement, that there are *divers and great solemn Monasteries of this Realm, wherein (thanks be to God,) Religion is right well kept and observed";* proceeds to give the King all such religious Houses as have not in lands or other hereditaments "above the clear yearly value of £200," and to enact "that also His Highness shall have to him and to his heirs all and singular such Monasteries . . . which at any time within one year next before the

making of this Act hath been given and granted to His Majesty by any Abbot, Prior, Abbess, or Prioress, under their Convent seals." It also provides that all persons shall enjoy such Abbey lands or interests therein as the King may have granted them.[1] It makes no provision whatever for the preservation of the Libraries.

Second Statute of Dissolution, A.D. 1539.

The second Act of dissolution is entitled: "*An Act for the dissolution of all Monasteries and Abbeys*," *and it* commences thus: "Whereas divers and sundry Abbots, Priors, Abbesses, Prioresses, and other Ecclesiastical governours and governesses of divers Monasteries, Abbeys, Priories, Nunneries, Colleges, Hospitals, Houses of Friars, and other religious and ecclesiastical Houses and places within . . . . . England and Wales, *of their own free and voluntary minds*, good wills and assents, *without constraint*, *coaction*, *or compulsion* of any manner of person or persons, ... have severally given, granted and . . . confirmed all their said Monasteries, Abbeys, ... Manors, Lordships, ... Rights and Franchises . . . . to our said Sovereign Lord, ... Be it therefore enacted," &c. There is here not a word of the "vicious, carnal and abominable living" alleged (and doubtless, to some extent, truly alleged) against the smaller Houses; nor of that "right well keeping and observing of religion" in "the great and solemn Monasteries of the realm" for which (unquestionably with not less of truth and reason,) homage is rendered to the Almighty, in the Act passed four years earlier. Here, also, there is an entire absence of care or forethought, in respect of their literary treasures.

1 *Statutes at large* (Raithby's edit.), 27°. Hen. VIII., c. 28; ii. 134.

And it is notable that the Commissioners employed were—alike under both statutes,—themselves, in many cases, men of grossly immoral lives,—notoriously such,—and were also men of the most crass ignorance and illiterateness, as well as men of conspicuous greed.[1]

That the language of neither statute can be adduced as, of itself, proving anything whatever, is but too obvious. The latter of them asserts in direct and unmistakable terms a falsehood which must have been known to be such by every official person, and by every member of Parliament who had taken part either in directing or in carrying out the Visitation of the Monasteries, or who had even resided in the near neighbourhood of any of those religious houses which are alleged to have been yielded to the King, by "*the free and voluntary minds, good wills, and assents*" of their respective Superiors. The former statute enacts in one section that all "fraudulent assurances" made by the Superiors of Religious Houses within one year next preceding the passing of the Act shall be void; and, in another section, that all Monasteries or monastic possessions given to His Majesty by any Abbot or Prior, within the same period, shall be confirmed . . . . "to

1 Evidence of this will be found, abundantly, and at first hand, in Cotton MS. "Cleop. E. 4, and throughout the "Augmentation Records," now in the Rolls House; at second hand, in the writings of Archbishop Parker; in the contemporary or nearly contemporary Lives of Cranmer; in the appendices to Burnet; in Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials;* in Fuller's *Church History;* and in the late Mr. T. Wright's collection of "*Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries,*" *passim.* The present writer has quoted, from original correspondence, some conspicuous proofs of the ignorance, the licentiousness, and the venality, both of Thomas Cromwell, and of his "Commissioners," in the preface to his edition of *Liber Monasterii de Hyda,* printed under the direction of the Master of the Rolls in 1865 (from the original MS. in Lord Macclesfield's noble library at Shirburn Castle, Oxon).

the glory of Almighty God," &c. Plainer justification of that pregnant "*Sic volo*" which our English antiquaries placed on the frontispiece of the *Monasticon* could scarcely be imagined than is offered by the mere juxtaposition of these two enacting clauses of one and the same Act of Parliament.

In this nineteenth century it ought, surely, to be quite superfluous to premise that a condemnation of the base means employed for the dissolution of the Monasteries, and of the fradulent appropriation of their possessions, after the dissolution, is perfectly consistent with honest reprobation of the gross abuses which prevailed in very many of them, and with clear conviction that the necessity either for their suppression, or large modification, was close at hand. For their conversion (in great measure) to purposes of private aggrandizement no necessity could ever have arisen. It was robbery—the robbery of a whole people—superadded to sacrilege. There is, however, evidence enough that plain as is the distinction here indicated, it is oftener overlooked than borne in mind.

That the famous "*Black Book of the Monasteries*" should have perished, as it seems to have done, is as much to be regretted by those who believe that, along with many lamentable truths, it must have contained a very large admixture of corrupt falsehoods; as by those who are boldly confident that even the multifarious correspondence of the very miscellaneous agents, both high and low, who were employed in the work, "contain *nothing* which is untrue," and that "the worst crimes laid to the charge of the Monks are but too fully veri-

fied by the long chain of historical evidence reaching without interruption from the twelfth century to the sixteenth!"[1]

The Instructions (drawn by Cromwell) for the Visitation of the Monasteries.

But, although the report of these Commissioners has disappeared, the Instructions to them are still extant, and are worthy of attention. They will, at least, be illustrative of the spirit in which the task was undertaken, and on points respecting which they say nothing, their silence may sometimes be more eloquent than words.

These Instructions were drawn up in the form of questions—eighty-six in number—which may be grouped under three main heads:—(1) *Foundation, possessions, revenues, and number of Monks in each Community.* (2) *Employment of the revenues, and condition of the monastic benefices and buildings.* (3) *Observance of Rule and discipline, and celebration of Divine Worship.*[2] Not in one of the eighty-six questions will be found the slightest indication of interest in the inquiry, whether or not learning was in any way cultivated in the Monasteries. Careful research is directed towards the state of "the bedding," and the number of the "utensils" (Quest. 50); but not the smallest curiosity is displayed respecting

1 WRIGHT: *Three Chapters of Letters relating to the suppression of Monasteries. Edited from the Originals in the British Museum* (Camd. Soc. 1843), pref. Mr. Wright rendered good service by the publication of these letters. But they would have had tenfold value, and would have borne a very different complexion, if he had included in his collection fair samples of the correspondence on the same subject, now preserved in the Rolls House, and formerly at Westminster. And, assuredly, the Editor's prefatory remarks cannot, in this instance, be praised for impartiality, however they may deserve praise on the score of ability.

2 *Articuli regiæ inquisitionis, in monasticam vitam agentes, exponendi*, etc. Cott. MS. *Cleop. E.* 4 f. 13. Printed in Burnet's *Collection of Records*, etc., i. 207-217.

the number of the books, or the literateness or illiterateness of the fraternity; questions which were not, indeed, in and for themselves, of chief importance, but which were closely bound up with that most vital question of all,—in what spirit and with what aims the work of Anglican reformation was to be achieved. Dread of the stigma of "sacrilege" might have become the bulwark of superstition, but the instincts which made the struggle with superstition a lucrative one were not therefore the less ignoble.

Nor is there any allusion to the literary aspect of the Monastic system, even in those "*General Injunctions to be given on the King's Highness' behalf, in all Monasteries and other Houses of whatsoever order or religion they be*," which are occasionally animated with lofty conceptions of the substance of true religion, expressed in language which sometimes rises into grandeur, but which wholly and everywhere overlook the value of discipline,—the value in its due place of austerity,—as the auxiliary, the aid, and appliance of true religion. Had the spirit of those lofty precepts been the ruling principle of the Visitors and of their Masters, all that was really good in the Reformation—in so far as it was truly such—would have been none the less triumphant; the Marian reaction, and the Elizabethan renewed sacrileges—or, at all events, the worst of them—would have been impossible. As it was, the errors of the Reformers, and of those who wore their garb, became the germs of the persecution in which so many of them perished; and of the revolting secularisation of things devoted to the highest of public services which ensued.

Under such auspices, it can scarcely be matter of surprise that the Monastic Libraries were wantonly plundered and dispersed. To whatever extent these collections may have suffered dilapidation and loss when they had the misfortune to belong to unfaithful and ignorant Communities, there is entire concurrence of testimony as to their enormous aggregate value, even at the time of the dissolution. Ardent Protestants agree with sturdy Romanists in lamenting the gross neglect which suffered them, for the most part, to perish.

Destruction of the Monastic Libraries.

John BALE, for example,—a man of whom it has been truly said that he was "sufficiently averse from the least shadow of Popery,"—addressing himself to King EDWARD VI., in 1549, writes thus: "But this is highly to be lamented of all them that hath a natural love to their country, either yet to learn antiquity, which is a most singular beauty to the same, that in turning over of the superstitious Monasteries so little respect was had to their Libraries, for the safeguard of those noble and precious monuments." . . . . . "Yea," he adds, "the Universities of this realm are not all clear in this detestable fact. But cursed is that belly which seeketh to be fed with so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his natural country. I know a merchantman, which shall at this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble Libraries for forty shillings' price: a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied in the stead of grey paper by the space of more than these ten years; and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come. A prodigious example is this, and to be abhorred of all men which

love their nation as they should do. . . . . Yea, what may bring our realm to more shame and rebuke than to have it noised abroad that we are despisers of learning?"[1]

Thomas Fuller on the Monastic Libraries.

FULLER, after having quoted a portion of this lamentation of the reforming Bishop, illustrates, in his quaint way, some of the methods by which this destruction was wrought. "As brokers in Long Lane," he says, "when they buy an old suit, buy the linings together with the outside; so it was conceived meet that such as purchased the buildings of Monasteries should in the same grant have the Libraries (the stuffing thereof) conveyed unto them. And now these ignorant owners, so long as they might keep a ledger-book or terrier by direction thereof to find such straggling acres as belonged unto them, they cared not to preserve any other monuments. The covers of books, with curious brass bosses and clasps, intended to protect, proved to betray them, being the baits of covetousness. And so, many excellent Authors, stripped out of their cases, were left naked to be buried or thrown away. . . . . I may say that then holy Divinity was profaned, Physic hurt, and a trespass, yea a riot, committed on Law itself. And more particularly, the History of former times then and there received a dangerous wound, whereof it halts at this day, and, without

1 Preface of J. Bale (afterwards Bishop of Ossory) to *The laboryouse Journey and serche of Johon Leylande for Englandes antiquitees, geven of hym as a newe yeares gyfte to kynge Henry the viii.*

hope of a perfect cure, must go a cripple to the grave."[1]

John Leland's mission to the Monasteries.

That the losses thus deplored would have been more extensive still, but for the famous mission of John LELAND, is very certain. To what extent he was able to rescue the fruits of Monkish industry from utter destruction can never, indeed, be accurately known. Forgetting that it is not given to man to know what a day may bring forth, he seems to have deferred the safe-placing of his acquisitions, or of the greater part of them, until a "to-morrow," which he was never to see. And, as if pursued by fatality, the accumulations which sad and protracted disease prevented him from making adequate use of in his life time, were in great measure dispersed after his death. But in two at least of the great collections which laid the foundation of the British Museum, as well as in the Bodleian, many precious volumes, saved by LELAND from amidst the Monastic ruins, are yet preserved, as we shall see more fully hereafter.

Although LELAND'S commission as "King's Antiquary" dates from 25 Henry VIII. (1533-4), and is therefore anterior by two years to the first Dissolution, there is no satisfactory evidence that it had for its direct object the preservation of the monastic archives, or that LELAND had even visited any considerable number of Monasteries before their suppression. In that "*New Year's Gift to King Henry* VIII.," which was written in 1546, and has been already referred to, he speaks of his

1 *Church History of Britain*, ut supra, ii. 247-249.

travels as having been made "by the space of these six years past," so that, if we are to understand that expression literally, they could scarcely have commenced before 1539 or 1540. The notices of Libraries scattered through the *Collectanea* shew, almost in every instance, that they were written subsequently to the suppression; and even in the case of the great, memorable, and not very remote Monastery of Bury St. Edmunds, it is evident, from the recommendatory letter printed by HEARNE, that his visit occcured after the Community had ceased to exist. There is, therefore, but slender ground for ascribing to the King, on the strength of his commission to LELAND, any very praiseworthy solicitude for the interests of learning. Nor, indeed, is there a scintilla of evidence which would justify the belief that HENRY was inclined to make any sacrifice, or to impose on himself any restraint, for such a purpose. If he could have won laudation as a preserver of learning with the same ease wherewith he obtained fame as archæologist, or as author; namely, by affixing to the Libraries, which other men had saved, "The King's Deed"; as he had already affixed to writings which other men had composed, "The King's Book"; and as he was presently about to affix to the noble Colleges of other men's planting, "The King's Foundation"; no doubt it would have given him pleasure. But timely and effective interference of this kind was incompatible with the lavish generosity of a "blind giver," and would also have plainly implied the falsehood of some of the accusations by means of which the Monks had been dragged down. The genial impulsiveness and the good-

fellowship of HENRY made him popular,[1] as such qualities always will do; nor is their possession by an unscrupulous voluptuary a thing to marvel at. There were other men of the same sort in high places at that time, and there have been many of them since. But those qualities will serve little towards the redeeming of his character in our memories, even if backed by the commendations of the Statute Book, and artistically grouped by the eminent abilities of so graphic a writer as Mr. FROUDE.

The renewed Spoliations under Edward VI.

The havoc which the flatterers of HENRY VIII. had so zealously begun, the crafty politicians who governed the realm in the name of EDWARD VI. very fitly carried on. On the 25th February, 1550, a King's letter was sent from the Council Board authorizing certain commissioners "to cull out all superstitious books, as missals, legends, and such like, and to deliver the garniture of the books, being either gold or silver, to Sir Anthony AUCHER."[2] This was to be done at the King's own Library in Westminster, whither some fragments of the Monastic Libraries had been carried by LELAND. In the same year the Oxford

1 "*King Harry loved a Man*," was much in the people's mouths after he had long been dead. Of his "bonhomie" there are curious and well-known illustrations in the letters of Erasmus.

2 Council book, as quoted by Jeremy Collier, *ubi infra*. I have read these instructions in the original text, at the Privy Council Office, but my note is not now at hand. How curious it is to notice at almost every step in the history of our own periods of turmoil—whether Reformation, Great Rebellion, Restoration, or "Glorious Revolution," of 1688,—the parallelisms which it presents with the revolutionary history of our great neighbours across the Channel. And these striking similarities, I have had many opportunities of observing, come out much more strongly in studying the MS. Records and sources than in our printed Histories—even the best.

Libraries were "purged of a great part of the Fathers and Schoolmen; and to shew that the discretion of some people was much of the same size with their justice, and what an antipathy they had to the memory of learned men, great heaps of these books were set on fire in the market place. This execution, . . . some young members, bigoted to ignorance, called Scotus's funeral."[1]

Wanton disregard of the great memories allied with English Monasteries.

Thus fell the famous old English Monasteries; leaving, in the eyes and thoughts of too many of us, nothing behind them save dull chronicles, tottering ruins, and vague, often scandalous, memories. By more patient inquirers, however, it will always be borne in mind, that on the site of those ruins good and great men fought a gallant and life-long fight against their worst enemies and ours; that true Captains of Men lived and died there, who, after many a hard struggle, won enduring victories against brutish violence, emasculating ignorance, manifold sin, and decorous mammon-worship.

The most especially sacred of their sites were wantonly profaned: Glastonbury for example; which St. DUNSTAN had made a model Monastery of Benedictine industry, and of Benedictine holiness, and where he had trained up Archbishop ETHELGAR to be his worthy successor in the Government of the English Church, was plundered and degraded—

1 WOOD: *Hist. et Antiq. Universitatis Oxoniæ*, i. 271, 272. COLLIER: *Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain*, v. 417, 418.

"When not great Arthur's tomb, nor holy Joseph's grave,
From sacrilege had power their sacred bones to save."

The New-Minster of Winchester was despoiled, and made a heap of ruins. Eventually, its holy and greatest altar became the site of a cell in a Bridewell; and the remains of "England's darling," King ALFRED, were shovelled aside, like so much refuse, to make room for the prison foundations.

At Canterbury, St. Agustine's Abbey was turned, in part, into a brewery, and in part was put to viler uses.[1] It was the place where our first English Library was founded, and the place which had become the eventual home of some of the best of those two bands of pristine Missionaries, who, from far Rome, in days marked by turbulence and rapine, of which it is now hard to form an idea,—

"Bands of Christian soldiers,
Marching as to war;—
With the Cross of Jesus
Going on before";—

had, during long months, traversed Italy and France afoot, amidst innumerable hardships, toils, and perils, to bring the blessings of Christianity to our then barbaric England.

And these are but samples of hundreds of instances of desecration, for mere lucre, which shocked the eyes

1 In our own day the site has been redeemed, mainly by the admirable exertions and the liberality of Mr. Beresford Hope. But there was nothing else left to preserve, or to restore. The work of the destroyers had been effectually done.

and grieved the hearts of the thoughtful and reverent amongst Reformers, as well as of the pious and faithful amongst Romanists, for many generations then to come.

But there yet remain in England a few of those noble Abbey-towers whence the passer-by may still hear sweet chimes and solemn dirges, and may call to memory that on the selfsame spot bells rang to prayer a thousand years ago. Under the shade of those towers, Schools and Libraries were formed, industry was taught by example, blessed and life-giving books were transcribed, the holy rites and happy festivals of the Christian Church were celebrated,—not, indeed, without much of human frailty and human error, but yet with that blessing from above, which can turn even the foolishness of men to the glory of GOD. From the battlements of such towers peaceful Monks gazed on many a bloody fight, in which Kings were dethroned, and Dynasties were changed; but from the adjacent Church the same voice of prayer and of praise rose at the same hours of day and night, century after century. Nor will the reflection be a useless one, which on such a spot may well cross the mind, almost with the force of a revelation, that even for us nineteenth-century men, what was there quietly thought, and unassumingly but earnestly done, by obscure and (in our day) much contemned Monks, is of more momentous, more enduring, concern, and has far more to do with everything that makes it life to live, than all the great inventions, —the steam engines, and weaving-looms, and reaping

machines, and railways, and "gold discoveries,"—and all the other marvellous extensions of mere commercial activity (blessings as they are, when duly subordinated, and kept subordinate,—and when rightly used),—which have ever been applauded by the toasts, or the shouts, of assembled thousands.

CHAPTER VIII.

Royal, Episcopal, and Lay Collectors, in various parts of Mediæval Europe.

> Diu est quod, et parentum cura, et meapte diligentia, libris insuevi. Hæc me voluptas jam inde a pueritia cepit; hæc illecebra mecum parilibus adolevit annis: nam et ita a patre institutus eram, ut, si ad diversa declinarem studia, esset animæ dispendium et famæ periculum. Quocirca memor sententiæ "Cupias quodcunque necesse est," extorsi juventuti meæ ut libenter vellem quod non velle honeste non possem. Et multis quidem literis impendi operam, sed aliis aliam. Logicam enim, quæ armat eloquium, solo libavi auditu: physicam, quæ medetur valitudini corporum, aliquanto pressius concepi: jam vero ethicæ partes medullitus rimatus, illius majestati assurgo, quod per se studentibus pateat, et animos ad bene vivendum componat: historiam præcipue, quæ, jocunda quadam gestorum notitia mores condiens ad bona sequenda, vel mala cavenda, legentes exemplis irritat. . . . . .
>
> —Will. Malmsburiensis: *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Prologus in librum ii).

For several centuries a few bequests of books in wills, a few brief entries of them in inventories, and some scanty allusions in Monkish Chronicles, comprise all, or very nearly all, the trustworthy sources of information respecting the Libraries of individual collectors. Until we reach almost the close of the mediæval period, anything that deserves to be called the Catalogue of a private Library is rare indeed. Some such lists, however, have survived, together with fragments and traditions of many more.

In the Letters of Sidonius Apollinaris we have a curious account of a fifth-century collector, in the person of Tonantius Ferreolus (in whom some hypothetical historians have claimed to discover the stem of the second race of French Kings), who formed a Library in

his castle of Prusiana, between Nismes and Clermont. SIDONIUS goes the length of comparing it to "the most famous of the public Museums of Rome or of Alexandria." It was divided, he says, into three departments, the first of which was expressly intended for the use of the ladies of the family, to meet whose devout tastes the books were chiefly works of piety, so conveniently arranged that, although these ladies had at command as many as they could wish for, all were within reach as they sat in their chairs. The second class was especially intended for the men; comprised works of literature rather than of devotion, and such (adds the sainted poet, very ungallantly[1]) as were altogether of a higher range. But, as if in compensation for this depreciatory allusion to the literary tastes of the gentle sex, we find him proceed to describe a third department, destined for the common use of both sexes, in which occur the works of such authors as Augustine and Origen, as well as those of Varro, Prudentius, and Horace. We learn, finally, that the books thus collected were not for show, but for use; that it was the habitual practice to spend a part of every morning in reading, and to discuss the books so read at dinner; statements which, if we are to put implicit faith in them, would tend to shew that the table-talk of a country house in the fifth century might perhaps not greatly suffer, if it were brought into comparison with that of many country houses in the nineteenth; of

1 So, at least, he is quoted by the literary historians of France (*Histoire littéraire de la France*, ii. 41) from whom I borrow these passages of Sidonius, with whom I have otherwise no acquaintance.

which it certainly cannot be said, that the gaiety is "always mingled with learning."

SIDONIUS also mentions as a notable collection of books, formed at nearly the same period, that which belonged to PUBLIUS Consentius, at his villa called Octaviana, not far from Narbonne. This, he says, was brought together by the successive care of father, son, and grandson, all of whom were eminent for their cultivation of letters. The collection he describes as being both choice and numerous.[1]

FLORUS, a priest of the Church of Lyons in the ninth century, is commemorated by his biographer as having been fortunate enough to form a Library containing none but "select, accurate, and well-written books," whence he equipped himself for his controversy with SCOTUS concerning the writings of St. AUGUSTINE.[2] But of this period no collection is recorded that is worthy to be compared with that which was brought together by EVERARD, Count of Friuli, who died A.D. 874. This Library was bequeathed by its owner to a Monastery of which he had been the founder, and from a Catalogue yet preserved, the learned authors of the *Histoire littéraire de la France* inform us, that in addition to the usual liturgical and devotional books—such as missals, gospels, lectionaries, antiphonaries, and the like, some of which were written in letters of gold, and most of which were adorned with ornaments of gold, silver, or ivory,—it contained several Books of Holy Scripture, Psalters, Commentaries on the Old and New Testament,

1 *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii. 41.

2 Ibid., v. 239.

collections of Canons, several works of the Latin Fathers, and especially of St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Fulgentius, and St. Isidorus of Seville; and also a translation of St. Ephraem.[1] There were also books of ethics, of ecclesiastical history, of civil history, of geography, of medicine, and at least one treatise on the military art. Amongst the books which the French historians mention specifically are *Liber bestiarum*, the *Cosmography* of the philosopher Ethicus, the *Physiognomy* of the physician Loxus, the *Ordinal of Princes* (perhaps the same as the work elsewhere entitled *Ordinal of the Palace*), and a work described simply as "Smaragdus," which they take to be the *Postilla on the Epistles and Gospels of the year*.

At precisely the same period, CHARLES the Bald, King of France, distinguished himself as a collector. To his appreciation of beautiful manuscripts, as well as to his worthy selection of the books on which he lavished adornment, many precious copies of the Bible, and several prayer-books, of almost unequalled beauty, yet testify. His collection was sufficiently numerous—so far as that term can be applied to any Library of that age—to induce him to direct by an ordinance which he promulgated on the eve of his last journey into Italy, that it should be divided into three parts: the first, for his son and successor; the second, for the Abbey of St. Denis; the third, for the Abbey of Compiègne.[2]

1 Ibid., v. 447.

2 The ultimate fate of portions of the Library of Charles the Bald affords an illustration of the remark in another part of this volume, as to the strange adventures of books. One very splendid Book of *Hours* was in the Swiss Abbey of Frauenmunster, from the pillage of which it was saved by a German

Towards the close of the tenth century, GERBERT of Rheims (afterwards Pope SYLVESTER II.) appears to have eclipsed all his contemporaries for zeal and wide-spread research in the amassing of books. He is said to have collected the works of Cicero, of Cæsar, of Pliny, of Suetonius, of Statius, of Eugraphius, of Manilius, of Victorinus the rhetorician, of a certain Gaulish physician called Demosthenes, of Claudianus the dialectician, and of many other authors, some of whom have long since been forgotten. His exertions to procure books extended to Spain, whence he brought treatises on arithmetic, on astrology, and on other subjects.[1] His friend ADSO (or Asso), Abbot of Moutier-en-Der, possessed similar tastes, collected for his friends as well as for himself, and became, so to speak, the literary correspondent-general, or the PEIRESC, of his epoch.

To a period but little later than that of these eminent churchmen, belongs a collector, of a different calling but of like spirit,—WILLIAM III., Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitiers. This Prince succeeded his father in the government of his hereditary states in the year 990; displayed eminent qualities both as statesman and as soldier; refused the crown of Italy (offered to him on the death of the Emperor HENRY II.); and finally, following the example of his father and of so many

Bishop, by whose care it was printed at Ingoldstadt in 1583. The famous "Bible of St. Denis" remained in that Monastery until 1595, when it was transferred to the Royal Library. President de Thou had it magnificently bound, at the (involuntary) expense of the Jesuits, after their expulsion from the College of Clermont. (See, hereinafter, under the heading: NATIONAL LIBRARY OF FRANCE.)

1 *Hist. litt. de la France*, vi. 25, 536, etc.

other princes of that age, retired to a Monastery, where he died in the year 1030. Of his marked taste for the collection and study of books a contemporary chronicle thus testifies:—"*Fuit dux iste a pueritia doctus literis, et satis notitiam scripturarum habuit;* librorum copiam in palatio suo servavit; *et si forte a frequentia causarum et tumultu vacaret, lectioni per seipsum operam dabat, longioribus noctibus elucubrans in libris, donec somno vinceretur.*"[1]

Passing over several collections of which but slight traces remain—many of them, too, very similar in their character—that of Richard CHANDOS, Bishop of Chichester, who died in 1253, deserves a word of notice. We know it only by the Will in which he bequeaths the following books:—"To the Friars Minors of Chichester, my *Psalter, glosed;* to the Friars Minors at Lewes, the *Gospels of St. Luke and St. John;* to the Friars Minors of Winchester, those of *St. Matthew and St. Mark;* to the Friars Preachers at Arundel, the *Book of Sentences;* to those of Canterbury, *Hosea, glosed;* to the Friars Minors of the same city, *Isaiah, glosed;* to the Friars Preachers of London, the Books of *Job, Acts,* and *Revelation,* with the *Canonical Epistles,* in one volume; to the Friars Minors of London, the *Epistles of St. Paul, glosed,* and to those of Winchester, *The twelve Apostles, glosed;* to the Friars Preachers of Winchester, *Summarium;* to William of de Selsey, my *Bible,* with a rough cover of skin; to

1 *Recueil des historiens des Gaules,* x. 155; *Art de vérifier les dates* (edit. of 1818), iii. 137; HALLAM: *Supplemental Notes* to his *View of Europe, &c.,* 396.

Fulinus, a Monk, the *books of Damascene*, with some others; to William, a Monk of Colchester, a small *book of St. Anselm*, &c.[1]

Of the Library of another Prelate of the thirteenth century, RICHARD de Gravesend, Bishop of London, a minute Catalogue exists amongst the archives of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and was privately printed by Dean MILMAN. In this instance the price of each book is affixed to its entry; the total number of volumes being a hundred, and their aggregate value £116 14*s.* 6*d.*, equal, according to Dr. MILMAN'S estimate, to about £1760 of our present English money. Of Bibles and parts of Bibles there are twenty-one volumes, valued at nineteen pounds and five shillings. The total number of volumes of a theological sort, Bibles included, is seventy-one. On the Canon and Civil Law, there are twenty-two volumes; on Ecclesiastical History, four volumes; and on what we may, perhaps, class under "Sciences and Arts," an equal number,—the entries of which run thus: *Tractatus fr'is Derth'i de proprietatibus rerum;—Libellus instructionum;—Liber Avicennæ;—Liber naturalis.* The two last-named works are respectively the highest-priced and lowest-priced items in the list—for books consist-

1 NICOLAS: *Testamenta Vetusta*, 761-762; and Note xxxix. The late Sir Harris Nicolas, with less than his usual acumen, has appended this remark: "The bequests of portions of the Bible translated into Latin, with a paraphrase or glosa, in the early part of the thirteenth century, proves how few even of the larger Monasteries were provided with them." But that accomplished and estimable antiquarian and jurist would have smiled at any learned brother who had ventured to argue, in his presence, that the bequest of an estate to a man "proved" that he had no land before.

ing of a single volume only,—the *Liber Avicennæ* being valued at five pounds, and the *Liber Naturalis* at three shillings. A Bible, in thirteen volumes, is valued at ten pounds, and a "little Bible" at one pound.[1] At this time the price of wheat was four shillings a quarter, and that of oats two shillings and six pence. It may be added that the total valuation of the property of the deceased Bishop, scheduled in this document, amounts to about three thousand pounds.

In the year 1355, Elizabeth DE BURGH, Lady of Clare, —the foundress of Clare Hall at Cambridge—bequeathed to her foundation "*deux bons antiphoners chescun ove un grayel* [Graduale] *en mesme le volume, i bone legende, i bone messale, bien note, i autre messale coverte de blank quir, i bone bible coverte de noir quir, i Hugucion* [*?* Hugh de Vercellis *on the Decretals*], *i legende sanctorum, i poire de decretals, i livre des questions, et xxii quaires d'un livre appellé De causa Dei contra Pelagianos.*

A more important collection of this century than any yet mentioned, was that which was formed by Guy DE BEAUCHAMP, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1315, bequeathing it to Bordesley Abbey in Worcestershire, where he had, as it seems, already placed it by way of deposit in his life-time. The bequest recites with great particularity all the volumes of which this very curious collection was composed[2]:—"*A tus iceux qe ceste lettre*

1 *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society* (privately printed, 1856).

2 The document from which this extract is taken is amongst the Lambeth MSS.—No. 557, fol. 18 b.—and was first printed in Todd's *Illustrations of*

verront ou orrount. Guy de Beauchamp, Comte de Warr., Saluz en Deu. Nous avoir bayle e en lagarde le Abbé e le Covent de Bordesleye, lesse a demorer a touz jours touz les Romaunces de souz nomes; ceo est assaveyr:—" Then follows a detailed enumeration of a Library rich in Romances of Chivalry, and in Lives of the Saints. The first book[1] in the long list is, probably, a French translation of the well-known *Tesoretto* of BRUNETTO Latini, but the description of it is vague. The whole number of volumes is forty, of which seventeen are either chivalric or legendary. The Biblical works comprise the *Gospels;* the *Revelation of St. John;* the Book of *Genesis;* the apocryphal *Gospel* of the Infancy; and the Legend of Joseph of Arimathea. There occurs also, as I suppose, a *Psalter* in French. But this, too, is vaguely described.

But all other early collectors are outshone by RICHARD D'AUNGERVILLE, or Richard of Bury, Bishop of Durham, whose *Philobiblon* (A.D. 1344) I have, in these pages, repeatedly quoted, chiefly for its allusions to Monastic Libraries. Its main interest for us, however, lies far less in what it tells of other collections, than in what it tells of his own; of his aims in gathering it; of the opportunities which facilitated its formation; of his exuberant and gushing delight at those wind-falls which ever and anon cheer the heart of an indefatigable book-

Gower and Chaucer, p. 161. The MS. itself is said to be a transcript by Archbishop Sancroft from Ashmole's Register of the Earl of Aylesbury's Evidences, f. 110. There is no allusion to this gift in the account of Bordesley in the *Monasticon*.

1 "Un volum, que est apelé *Trésor*."

hunter;[1] of the liberal sympathy with poorer students which dedicated the ultimate disposition of his Library; and, above all, of the genial nature, the wide sympathies, the energetic character of the man himself. As a book-lover—almost a book-idolizer, he has had (if we take into account the relative abundance of books themselves at that date and in our own century) very few real equals:—Richard HEBER, perhaps, in the last generation but one; Sir Thomas PHILLIPS in the next following generation. Of these two—and especially of the eccentric owner of Middle Hill,—it might truly be said as RICHARD D'AUNGERVILLE's early biographer says of him: "His visitors could scarce stand or move onward, without striking their feet against books."[2]

As the name by which he is best known indicates, RICHARD D'AUNGERVILLE was born at or near Bury St. Edmunds. At an early age he became an orphan, and

1 He says of himself: "..... exstatico quodam librorum amore abreptum."

2 WILLIAM DE CHAMBRE: *Vita Richardi Dunelmensis*— ..... "ingredientes vix stare poterant vel incedere nisi librum pedibus conculcarent." The first Edition of the *Philobiblon* is of Cologne, 1463; the second, of Spires, 1483; the third, of Paris, 1500; the fourth and best, of Oxford, 1599. This Edition was the labour of love of Dr. Thomas James (the special honour of the Island in which these pages are written, and a native of the town in which they are printed). And it is curious to note that James appears to have been ignorant of any Edition later than the first. In "Collections" it has been twice reprinted: (1) in Melchior Godart's Collection of Philological Tracts, published in 1610; (2) in part 2 of John Joachim Mader's Tracts on Libraries, published in 1703. Its only English translation, adopted, with slight corrections, in these extracts, appeared in London, from the able and scholarly hands of Mr. Inglis; its only French translation in 1856, published along with the Latin text—chiefly (as Mr. E. C. Thomas has shewn in his able Essay on Richard of Durham in the Library Chronicle, 1884, Sept. and Oct.;—an Essay to which I am much indebted) from the very imperfect text of Mader, but with "various readings," from three MSS. at Paris, all of them of critical value. A new edition, by Mr. Thomas himself, is now in course of preparation.

was educated by a maternal uncle, of the noble family of Willoughby. He was sent to Oxford, and of his pursuits and enjoyments there, he has left a vivid and charming picture[1]:—

> . . . . "From an early age, led by we know not what happy accident, we attached ourselves with present solicitude to the society of masters, scholars, and professors of various arts, whom perspicacity of wit and celebrity of learning had rendered most conspicuous; encouraged by whose consolatory conversation we were most deliciously nourished, sometimes with explanatory investigation of arguments, at others with recitations of treatises on the progress of physics, and of the Catholic doctors, as it were with multiplied and successive dishes of learning. Such were the comrades we chose in our boyhood; such we entertained as the inmates of our chambers, such were the companions of our journeys, the messmates of our board, and our associates in all our fortunes."

The results of these youthful studies pointed him out as a suitable tutor for EDWARD, Prince of Wales, afterwards EDWARD III., whose affection and confidence he won and retained.[2] His first reward was the treasurership of Gascony. On the accession of his pupil to the throne, he received prebendal stalls in London, Hereford, and Chichester, and, in quick succession, the civil offices of

1 *Philobiblon*, c. viii.

2 Edward thus wrote of him to the Pope, on his accession: ". . . . Eo quod nostro assidue lateri assistendo, novimus ipsum virum in consiliis providum, conversationis et vitæ munditia decorum, literarum scientia præditum, et in agendis quibuslibet circumspectum."—Royal Missive, quoted by Lord Chancellor CAMPBELL: *Lives of the Chancellors*, § R. de Bury, i. 222.

Cofferer, Treasurer of the Wardrobe, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1333, he was raised to the see of Durham, and in the following year he received the Great Seal.

During his tenure of these high and varied offices, the good Bishop was repeatedly sent on foreign embassies—once, at least, to Avignon; thrice to Paris; and afterwards to Antwerp and to other cities. Before the Pope, he appeared with even more than usual magnificence, being attended by twenty clerks and thirty-six esquires, sumptuously attired. With Paris he had a long and intimate acquaintance, and thither, above all places in the world, he loved to return. There he found, after escaping at intervals "from the inextricable labyrinths of public business, an opening for a little while to breathe a milder atmosphere," and (for a Bishop, and, I believe, a good one,) he almost runs riot in its delightful reminiscences. "O blessed God of Gods in Sion!" he exclaims, "what a rush of the flood of pleasure rejoiced our heart as often as we visited Paris the paradise of the world! There we longed to remain, where on account of the greatness of our love the days ever appeared to us to be few. There are delightful Libraries, in cells redolent of aromatics; there, flourishing greenhouses of all sorts of volumes; there, academic meads trembling with the earthquake of Athenian Peripatetics, pacing up and down; there, the promontories of Parnassus, and the porticos of the Stoicks. . . . . There, in very deed, with an open treasury and untied purse strings we scattered money with a light heart, and redeemed inestimable

books with dirt and dust. Every buyer is apt to boast of his great bargains; but . . . . . we will add a most compendious way by which a great multitude of books, as well old as new, came into our hands. Never, indeed, having disdained the poverty of religious devotees, assumed for Christ, we never held them at a distance, but admitted them from all parts of the world into the kind embraces of our compassion . . . . . to these, under all circumstances, we became a refuge; to these we never closed the bosom of our favour. Wherefore, we deserved to have . . . as well the personal as the mental labours of those who, going about by sea and land; surveying the whole compass of the earth; inquiring into the general studies of the Universities of the various provinces; were anxious to administer to our wants, under a most certain hope of reward. . . . . Besides the opportunities already touched upon, we easily acquired the favour of the stationers and booksellers, not only within the provinces of our native land, but of those dispersed over the kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy, by the prevailing power of money. No distance whatever impeded, no fury of the sea deterred these emissaries; nor was cash ever wanting for their expenses when they sent or brought us the wished for books; they knew to a certainty that their hopes . . . . were secure with us. . . . . Moreover, there was always about us, in our houses, no small assemblage of antiquaries, scribes, bookbinders, correctors, illuminators, and generally of all

such persons as were qualified to labour advantageously in the service of books."[1]

By dint of enthusiasm so ardent, and of means so varied, the Bishop of Durham amassed what, in that day, must have deserved to be called a noble collection of books. The keenness of his quest made him, he tells us, very obnoxious to contemporary criticism. Some of his traducers accused him of idle curiosity; some, of ostentatious vanity; some, again, of "absorption in secular affairs"; for Prelates, it seems, were as attentively watched, as keenly "reviewed," and often as recklessly blamed in those remote days as in these. By one class of critics, exception was taken to his bibliomania, as if it necessarily diverted him from his episcopal duties. By another class of Bishop RICHARD'S reprovers, the pleasures of literature were thought to be of dangerous affinity with the pleasures of sin. But these animadversions caused him (he says) no more discomposure than would the barking of a lap-dog, "being contented with the testimony of Him to whom alone it belongs to search the reins and heart."[2]

Even by the greatest of his foreign contemporaries—PETRARCH, with whom his Papal mission had made him acquainted,—he seems to have been a little misunderstood. The passage in which PETRARCH mentions him

1 *Philobiblon*, c. viii. The closing words run thus: ". . . . *Multitudo non modica Antiquariorum, Scriptorum, Colligatorum, Correctorum, Illuminatorum, et generaliter omnium qui poterant librorum servitiis utiliter insudare.*"

2 Ibid., c. xviii.

is noteworthy on several accounts, and is to this effect:—

"I had much conversation . . . . with RICHARD, formerly the Chancellor of the King of England, a man of ardent mind and not ignorant of letters. Having been born and educated in Britain, and from his youth unusually curious after subjects little known, he seemed to me to be peculiarly fit to elucidate questions of this sort [such, namely, as the true meaning of the term '*Isle of Thule*,' and other the like antiquarian speculations]. *But whether he was ashamed to confess his ignorance to me, as many now are who are not aware how much credit it does their modesty*, (since no one is bound to know all things) *to own frankly their ignorance of what they do not know;* or whether,—which I will not suspect, that he envied me the knowledge of the subject; or whether he indeed expressed his real feelings; he answered that he would certainly satisfy me, but not until he returned to his books in his own country, of which no man had a more abundant supply. He was then, when I fell into his acquaintance, at the Apostolical See, negociating the affairs of his master. It was at that juncture when those first seeds of war were growing between King EDWARD and the King of France, which have since produced such a bloody harvest, of which the sickles have not yet been laid aside, nor the barns closed. But after my promiser went away,—whether he found nothing, or became distracted by the heavy duties of his episcopal office newly imposed,—he never met my wishes, although often urged by my letters, otherwise than by an obstinate silence. So

Thule never became more known to me for my British friendship."[1]

No English collector of this age can be placed on a par with RICHARD of Bury. Nor can his true peer be found until we reach a much later period. But here it may not be without utility to glance, for a moment, at some collectors of a very humble order, of whom, in that capacity, nothing is known beyond their little legacies of books to relations or friends. The character of the volumes thus bequeathed, and the conditions of bequest, will sometimes curiously illustrate the literature and the manners of the epoch.

Thus, for example, in the year 1370, we find mention in the inventory of a chaplain of Bury St. Edmunds, Adam de STANTON by name, of four volumes, only one of which is theological. The first is *Portiforium;* then *Un lib. de lege* (perhaps *Bracton* or *Fleta*); then a volume of *Statutes*, and finally a *lib. de Romances* (perhaps *Sir*

1 *Epistolæ famil.* (Ven. 1492), l. iii. 34. Obviously as the Bishop's silence about " Thule " is explicable, an able and worthy historian of our own, Mr. Sharon Turner, whilst noticing (in his *History of England during the Middle Ages*) this most interesting passage in Petrarch's *Letters*, takes occasion to endorse the complaint of the Italian Poet, by the following somewhat infelicitous reflection: "A Statesman with a taste for Literature or the Arts is a confessed phenomenon. Mæcenas would lose his proverbial fame if it were not so; and Petrarch's acquaintance with the busy world ought to have diminished his surprise, if not his satire. More congenial minds, however, existed in England," etc. (*England during the Middle Ages*, viii. 255). Mr. Turner, as it seems, was acquainted with *Philobiblon*, but did not know that Richard of Bury was its author. The author of a *History of England* (and a very good one) should have remembered Alfred; and Wolsey; and Sunderland; and Harley;—with many others of intermediate as well as of later date; to say nothing of innumerable examples in France and in Italy;—some even in Germany.

Tristrem or *Mort d'Arthur*).[1] In 1392, John Percyhay, of Swinton, in the county of York, bequeaths these five books, (1) Works of Peter of Blois *(Petrus Blesensis);* (2) *Trivet;* (3) *Brute Chronicle;* (4) *Par Decretalium;* (5) *Portifore;* and in the same year, John de CLIFFORD, Treasurer of the Church of York, bequeaths his "Civil Law books to any son of his brother who may choose to enter in that study, under an engagement that he will not alienate them, but allow them to descend to persons of his blood."[2] Four years later, Walter de BRAGGE, Canon of York, bequeaths a "*Bible* bound in red leather"; *Piers Ploughman;* a "book of Tracts"; a book "*De expositione Evangeliorum*, vocatum *Unum ex quatuor"; Brito; Speculum Prælatorum;* a *Psalter*, glossed; *Catholicon; Summa Summarum; Commune alloquium;* and *Par Decretalium.*[3]

Eleanor de BOHUN, Duchess of Gloucester, by her will, dated 9th August, 1399, bequeathed the following books:—"To my son, HUMPHREY, ... a *Chronicle of France*, in French, with two clasps in silver, enamelled with the arms of the Duke of BURGOYNE; also a book of Giles,[4] *De regimine principum;* a book of vices and virtues; and another in verse *(un autre rimeie)* of the *History of the Knight of the Swan (Histoire de chivaler a cigne)*, all in French; also a *Psalter* well and richly illumined, with the clasps of gold enamelled with white

1 *Wills and Inventories from the Register of the Commissary of Bury* (Camden Society), 1.

2 HUNTER: *Notes of Wills in the Registers of York (Memoirs read at the York meeting of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain)*, 11, 12.

3 Ibid.

4 *i. e.* EGIDIO COLONNA; commonly called ÆGIDIUS ROMANUS. *v.* FORTESCUE: *On the Governance of England*, ed. Plummer, pp. 175-6.

swans, and the arms of my Lord and Father enamelled on the clasps, and other bars of gold on the tissues in manner of mullets, which Psalter was left me to remain to my heirs and from heir to heir; . . . . and to my daughter, ANNE (afterwards Countess of STAFFORD), a book well illumined, with the *Legenda aurea* in French; . . . . to my daughter, JOHANNA, a book with the *Psalter*, *Primer*, and other devotions, with two clasps of gold enamelled with my arms (which book I have often used), with my blessing; . . . . to my daughter, ISABEL (a Minoress), . . . a French *Bible*, in two volumes, with two gold clasps, enamelled with the arms of France; Item, a book of *Decretals* in French; also a book of *Meistre Histoires*, a book *de Vitis Patrum;* and the *Pastorelz*[1] of St. Gregory. Item, a *Psalter*, glosez; *autre livre novel du Psautier*, *gloses de la primer . . . . et sount les dites livres de François*."[2]

These notices of minor English collectors of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, may conclude with John de NEWTON, who, in 1418, became a liberal benefactor to the Church of York (of which he had long been Treasurer), by bequeathing to the Chapter, "*in subsidium et relevamen librariæ faciendæ*," a considerable number of volumes; including Bibles, both entire and in portions, biblical commentaries and concordances, works of St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Bernard, St. John Chrysostom, St. Thomas Aquinas; of Alcuin, of John Hoveden, of Richard Hampole, of

1 *i. e.* the *Cura Pastoralis* of St. Gregory.

2 NICOLAS: *Testamenta Vetusta*, 148, 149.

Walter Hilton, of William Rymington, of Alfred of Beverley, of William of Malmesbury (*De pontificibus*), and of Holcot; Beda, *De Gestis Anglorum*, and Petrarch, *De remediis utriusque fortunæ*. Amongst those which the testator gave to St. Peter's College, Cambridge, occur in addition to many patristic and other books of a theological cast, works of Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Macrobius, Vegetius, Boethius, Cassiodorus, Ægidius,[1] and Alanus.[2]

If we turn to Italy, we find amongst its earliest collectors some of its most illustrious authors. The first and the last recorded incidents of the life of PETRARCH strikingly indicate his passion for books. He has himself described how rudely his youthful delight in the classic orators and poets was disturbed by his father's angry committal of his little library to the flames, from which he was but just able to rescue (half burned) Virgil and Cicero. And probably scarcely one of his forty biographers has omitted to record that he died, with his head resting on the book he had been reading. Nor is it without interest to remember that the mighty Poet, who had (as we have seen) given friendly greeting to the protocollector of England, went to Paris to congratulate, on his liberation from English captivity, that King JOHN who himself set the first germ of the National Library of France, and was the father of the three most eminent collectors of their age (CHARLES V., of France; JOHN, Duke of Berry; and PHILIP the Bold, of Burgundy).

1 *i. e.* Ægidius Romanus, *v. s.*

2 HUNTER, *ut supra*, 15.

PETRARCH aspired, too, to be the founder of a public Library at Venice, although the neglect of Venetian functionaries permitted that fame to rest on Cardinal BESSARION, a hundred years later.

PETRARCH'S gift was made in 1352. He stipulated that the books should neither be separated nor sold, and intended to bequeath the remainder of his Library to St. Mark.[1] But the gift fell into oblivion and the intention was not realized. PETRARCH'S books are widely scattered, and but very few are now to be seen in the *Marciana*. A portion of them was seized by LEWIS XII. (1499) during his brief campaign, or raid, against the Venetian Republic. The PETRARCH volumes now shewn to visitors at Venice appear to have fallen into entire oblivion, when in 1635, TOMASINI, in the course of his researches for the work which he was then writing,—*Petrarcha redivivus, Laura comite*,—found a clue which led to their discovery in some dust-choked upper chamber, near to the famous bronze horses. When these unfortunate MSS. were thus found, some had been petrified into fossils; others were ready to crumble in the hands of the discoverers.

Passing over, of necessity, many collectors of the Middle Age epoch, whose Libraries would well deserve and repay attention, were that the only period we had

1 "Il tenore della pollizza e questa: Desidera Francesco Petrarca de haver herede il B. Marco Evangelista si cosi piacerà à Christo ed a lui, di non so quanti libretti i quali egli possiede al presente, ó che fórse possedera in futuro," etc. *Petrarcha redivivus*, 70 (Edit. of 1650). Then follows a list of the principal MSS. discovered; but it is too imperfect to give any satisfactory idea of the poet's collection.

here to treat of, we come, towards its close, to three illustrious Princes, who stand out saliently from the rest of their contemporaries, in this character as well as in others,—Lorenzo DE' MEDICI; Matthias CORVINUS, King of Hungary; and FREDERICK, Duke of Urbino.

It is well known that for more than half a century before the actual fall of Constantinople, the dread of the impending event drove many Greeks distinguished for learning into exile, in various parts of Europe. Italy, especially, received many of these accomplished strangers, and gave them noble welcome. Foremost in the exercise of an hospitality which was splendidly recompensed, were the Medicean princes. COSMO himself had set the example. As GIBBON expresses it, he "ennobled his credit into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and with London; and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books were often imported in the same vessel."[1] BOCCACCIO, Coluccio SALUTATI (Chancellor of Florence), Lodovico MARSILIO, and Niccolò NICOLI were all zealous in the pursuit of books. BOCCACCIO and MARSILIO bequeathed their respective collections to the Augustinian Monastery of Florence. Part of them still survives in the Laurentian Library. NICCOLÒ (at his death in 1436) bequeathed his Library to public use, but his debts were considerable, and it was only by the interposition of COSMO that the bequest could be carried out. With peculiar infelicity, the collection of COLUCCIO, who in his lifetime had circulated a treatise in which he urged the establishment of Public Libraries, was sold

1 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, c. 66.

after his death by his children. Thus, when LORENZO began the systematic formation of the noble Library which bears his name, he had before him not only the precedents set by his father and grandfather, but also the examples of many other illustrious Florentine citizens.[1] How zealously he pursued the task we see both in its living results, and in the correspondence of his contemporaries. His messengers, says LEONICENO, writing to POLITIANO, "are dispersed to every part of the earth, for the purpose of collecting books on every science. . . . I well remember his glorious expression, which you repeated to me, that he wished the diligence of Pico and of yourself would afford him such opportunities of purchasing books, that, his fortune proving insufficient, he might pledge even his furniture to possess them."[2] And he was as liberal in affording access to his treasures as in acquiring them. Both King MATTHIAS and FREDERICK of Urbino were permitted to keep transcribers fully employed in the Library of LORENZO. The former is said (by Matthias BELIUS, the historian of Hungary) to have maintained there and elsewhere thirty copyists.

The splendour of the Corvinian Library is yet proverbial. It has made its deep mark in the History of Art. The King was as little sparing in the decoration of his books as in their purchase. Writing, illumination, binding, were all as choice and splendid as wealth

1 BANDINI: *Lettera sopra i principi e progressi delli Biblioteca Laurenziana* (Fir. 1773); ROSCOE: *Life of Lorenzo*, i. 51, *seqq.* (Edition of 1800); TIRABOSCHI: *Storia della Litteratura Italiana*, vi. 98.

2 POLITIANI: *Epistolæ*, ii. 7; quoted by Roscoe, *ut supra*, ii. 77.

and cultivated taste could procure. Among the many accomplished miniaturists whom he employed were the two BOCCADINI; the two DEGLI GIOVANNI, Gherardo and Monte; and most famous, perhaps, of them all, VANTE or ATTAVANTE of Florence, son of Gabriello DEGLI ATTAVANTI. At the death of CORVINUS, in 1490, the collection is said to have amounted to nearly 50,000 volumes—almost all of them MSS. And the man who could (so to speak) "stake himself down" to the enjoyment of his books, as though his life had been given him for study, knew well how to rule a kingdom. At his death, the words "*Matthias is dead; Justice has fled*," passed from mouth to mouth. Those words were heard again, amidst the cries of battle, during the bitter conflict of 1849. And more than once again, on Magyar lips, during the final conflict on the death-bed in exile. It is probable that under the indolent and incompetent successor of CORVINUS, King VLADISLAUS, the Buda Library was soon exposed to loss and dilapidation. In the opinion of the eminent historian of Italian literature, TIRABOSCHI, some portions of the Library were publicly offered for sale at Buda, soon after the death of the munificent collector. But in the particular instance which he cites—that of seven of the precious volumes which long adorned the Estense Library at Modena—he is found, upon recent inquiry, to be in error. Those volumes had found their way to Venice. And it is possible that some of them were still in course of preparation at Florence—as is known to have been the case with the splendid *Breviary* of the Vatican—at the time of the King's decease. Seventy

years afterwards, they were in the possession of Girona Faletti, from whom they were bought by order of Duke Alfonso II.[1] Thirty-seven years afterwards, at all events, it was pillaged and much of it destroyed by the Turks, who, after their wont, tore off the precious metals and gems which ornamented the books, and then gave the Library, with the Palace itself, to the flames.

A considerable number of books, however, escaped —and amongst them are MSS. still of rare beauty—for the enrichment of modern Libraries, and for the instruction of the art-historians of the cinquecentisti. To be able to shew a Corvinian book is a triumph even to collections rich in treasures. Some of those at Vienna—sadly despoiled of their original splendour in most cases—were discovered by Busbequius in a neglected tower at Buda itself, sixty years after the siege. Others were purchased, partly from the heirs of Sambucus. The Corvinian MSS. in other Libraries have been acquired, piece-meal, under various circumstances. The following brief epitome[2] will shew what these rescued books are, and where they may be seen. Perhaps, also, it may afford a not uninteresting illustration of the singularly wide dispersion which sometimes awaits the prized treasures of an enthusiastic and princely Collector, even within a comparatively brief

1 J. W. Bradley: *Memoir of Attavante of Florence;* in *The Academy* of 1876, vol. ii., p. 297.

2 In the first edition of this book, I printed a classified list of Corvinian books in tabular form. By an accident (which was unnoticed at the time) part of this table was misplaced, so that certain classical works were mixed up with the theological, and then repeated under their proper headings.

period from their acquisition. In the preparation of my epitome, I am greatly indebted to VOGEL's *Verzeichniss Corvinischer Handschriften*, published in 1849; and to some more recent and very able articles in *The Academy*.

The Imperial Library of Vienna possesses two copies of the *Gospels*,[1] of Corvinian origin, and a long series of Patristic and other theological works,[2] amongst which those of SS. Augustine, Ambrose, Athanasius, Cyprian, Cyril, Jerome, John Chrysostom, Thomas Aquinas, and Bernard of Clairvaux are conspicuous. There are also a service book or two of great beauty.[3] Among the Greek and Roman Classics in this Library occur works of Aristotle[4] and of Plutarch,[5] portions of the works of Livy[6] and of Tacitus,[7] together with the Byzantine historians, Nicephorus, Glycas, and Zonaras.[8] Here, also, are the *Orations* of Cicero[9] and the *Institutes* of Quintilian.[10]

Among the poets: Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius (in a beautiful MS., once in the choice Library of Prince EUGENE);[11] Plautus;[12] and Virgil. The arts of scription

1 LAMBECIUS: *Commentaria*, § 9; HARLEN: *Introd. ad Historiam Linguæ Græcæ*, Supp., ii. 97.

2 DENIS: *Codd. Theol. Bibl. Pal.*, i. 194, 201, 222, 223, *seqq.*; ii. 2, 262, 585, *seqq.* LAMBECIUS, *ut sup.*, ii. 948; iii. 123.

3 DENIS, iii. 827.

4 LAMBECIUS, ii. 714; NESSEL: iv. 29.

5 KOLLAR: Supp. [to Lamb.], ii. 186.

6 ENDLICHER: *Cat. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Palat.*, 96.

7 ORELLI: *Præfatio ad Tac.*

8 ENDLICHER, 409; KOLLAR, i. 102; NESSEL, v. 8.

9 ENDLICHER, 16.

10 Ib., 245.

11 Ib., 107.

12 Ib., 122.

and illumination, as practised by the best artists of the fifteenth century might be described from this series of Vienna volumes alone; although the finest individual specimens from the great Buda Library must be sought elsewhere.

The Ducal Library of Wolfenbuttel possesses two service books, of Corvinian origin; together with a collection of *Mappæ Nauticæ;* a curious tract of Cortesius, entitled *Laudes bellicæ Matthiæ Corvini;* Priscian *in Theophrastum;* the *Noctes Atticæ* and the poems of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius. All these Wolfenbuttel books have been carefully described by PFLUGK.[1] But of the fortunes of these books between Buda and Wolfenbuttel no satisfactory account is, I believe, attainable.

At Ferrara—also in the "Ducal Library"—are to be seen Anastasius *de vita Christi;* Andreas *super Apocalypsim;* St. John Chrysostom's *Homiliæ;* Eusebius *in Cantica;* Nilus *super Trinitate; cathena super Trinitate;* the *Dioptra* and the *Epistolæ* of Michael Psellus; the historical work of M. Glycas; Martius Galeottus *de Homine.*[2]

The nine Corvinian books which, until lately, were preserved in the Estense Library at Modena,—two of which came thither from Pesth, by direct transfer,—are, together with the four biblical and liturgical books at Rome, and at Brussels, among the finest productions of those Italian scribes and miniaturists who found at Buda

1 PFLUGK: *De bibliotheca Bud.*, 108, *seqq.*

2 In the preparation of that table, I was largely indebted to the article of Vogel in *Serap.*, 10r. Bd., 373-385. But I have done my best to collate his account with other authorities, both earlier and later.

their most princely patron. The treatise of St. Augustine, *contra Faustum et Julianum*, is richly illuminated by Attavante, and the miniatures are signed. Some of them are so placed as to face each other. The pages are framed within borders of golden arabesque, and of rich tracery or scroll-work from the pen of the scribe, and within them appear the usual Corvinian emblems and heraldic blazonings. In the illuminated Commentary of St. Ambrose *in Hexameron*, the initials of each chapter contain a portrait of the Author, varied as to the expression, enframed within rich but always diversified borders. The *Antiquitates Romanæ* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus contain a series of portraits of singular beauty which, in Mr. BRADLEY's opinion, were drawn from the life. The remaining volumes here comprise the *Dialogi* and the *Homiliæ* of St. Gregory the Great; the *Homiliæ* of Chrysostom; the "*Commentaria in Sti. Pauli Epistolas*," of St. Jerome; the historical work of Ammianus Marcellinus, and the *Opera varia* of Georgius Merula.[1]

The *Laurenziana* at Florence contains St. Ambrose *de Virginitate;* St. Augustine on *Genesis;* the *Expositio Historiæ Sacræ* of St. Isidore; a later version of the *Historia Romana* of Appian; and the treatise of Brundolini Lippi *de comparatione reipublicæ et regni.* All of these have been described by Bandini.[2]

The Library of St. Mark at Venice possesses Averitinus *de Architectura* in the version of Bonfini;[3]

1 BRADLEY: *Attavante*, ut supr., 295, *seqq.*

2 BANDINI: *Catalogus Codd. MSS. Lat. Bibl. Laur.*, i. 142, 696; ii. 846, etc.

3 MORELLI: *Bibliotheca MS., etc.*, i. 405, *seqq.*

an anonymous tract, *De Corvinianæ domus initiis;*[1] and the treatise of Martianus Capella *de nuptiis Philologiæ*, etc., bound up with another tract of the same author. This fine manuscript is richly illuminated by Attavante, one of whose miniatures is signed in a hand which recurs throughout the volume. By some, the illumination of this volume had been formerly ascribed to Sandro Botticelli.[2]

At Erlangen, in the University Library, three Corvinian books are shewn: (1,) *Biblia vulgata;*[3] (2,) Xenophon's *Cyropædia;*[4] (3,) a treatise *de Sanitate*, by Joannes de Bosco.[5]

The Corvinian volumes in the Royal Library at Berlin are a Suetonius, transcribed in 1477,[6] and the treatise of Agathias, *De bello Gothico.*[7] Those at Brussels include a copy of the Latin *Gospels*, written in golden letters. It contains the Canons of Eusebius and the Prolegomena of St. Jerome. The miniatures are from the pencil of Attavante, and are of singular beauty. The special interest of this volume for the history of art has been well described by Mr. BRADLEY in one of those articles on the illuminators of the fifteenth century (contributed to *The Academy*, of 1876,) to which these pages have been already indebted. It is also described, from a merely bibliographical point of

1 BUDIK: Mém. printed in the *Wiener Jahrbuch*, lxxxviii. 34.

2 BRADLEY, *ubi supr.*, 61.

3 IRMISCHER: *Beschreibung der Manuscripte . . . der Universitäts Bibliothek zu Erl.*, i. 233.

4 IRMISCHER, *ut supra*, 217.

5 VON MURR: *Memorabilia*, iii. 160.

6 OETRICHS: *Entwurf einer Gesch. der Königl. Bibl., &c.*, p. 118.

7 *Archiv fur aeltere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 8r. Bd., 824, 825.

view, by SANTANDER.[1] There is also here a fine *Missale Romanum*, of 1485;[2] hardly less remarkable.

The Vatican possesses two gems of Corvinian taste, and of Italian miniature-painting, in a *Bible*, and a *Breviary*, both illuminated by Attavante, and both, it is probable, still unfinished, when the King of Hungary died. The first of these contains proof that the text was completed about five years before the completion of the miniatures. This circumstance is mentioned by TIRABOSCHI,[3] but neither his researches, nor those recently made by Mr. BRADLEY, have discovered more of the person who eventually acquired the volume from the painter, and became the channel of its transmission to the Vatican, than that he was a Cardinal.[4]

Paris has the *Breviarium in Psalmos* of St. Jerome,[5] which came from the Library of the Duke of LA VALLIERE, and a Santorii *De re militari*, bound up with other tracts.[6] The science of war was a subject which King MATTHIAS had special occasion to study, and his Library possessed many treatises upon it. That of VALTURIUS is at Dresden. I do not find it mentioned in EBERT'S *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Codicum*, but it is described by GOETZE.[7] There is also at Dresden a copy of the *Epistolæ familiares* of CICERO.[8]

1 *Mém. hist. sur la Bibl. de Bourgogne*, p. 39.
2 *Mém. de l'Acad. de Bruxelles*, tom. iv., pp. 493, *seqq.*
3 TIRABOSCHI: *Storia, &c.*, ut sup.
4 *The Academy*, 1876, ii. 298.
5 *Cat. des livres du Duc de la Vallière*, tom. i., p. 444.
6 GLEY: Art. *Corvin*, in *Biog. Univ.*
7 *Merkwürdigkeiten der Dresd. Bibl.*, i. 41.
8 EBERT: *Gesch., &c.*, 267; No. 115.

Thus, it will be seen, Vienna possesses no less than forty-three Corvinian MSS., Wolfenbuttel claims twelve, Ferrara eleven, Modena nine, and Florence five. Paris has two. Each, also, of the Royal Libraries of Brussels, Berlin, and Dresden has two. Augsburg,[1] Jena,[2] Leipsic,[3] Neustadt,[4] and Thorn,[5] can each shew one Corvinian volume; as also can Open,[6] Maros-Vasarbély,[7] and Besançon.[8] The Monastic Library of Gottweih possesses two—Chrysostom's treatise *De dignitate sacerdotali*,[9] and an expository note of Bessarion on St. John xxi. 22.[10] Several others, heretofore undescribed, are said to be in the Library of Count TRIVULZIO at Milan. Exclusive of these, the *described* MSS. traceable to the great Library of Buda are, in the aggregate, about a hundred in number. It has been repeatedly said that Bilibald PIRCKHEIMER, of Nuremburg, whose Library was purchased by Thomas, Earl of ARUNDEL, in 1636, and the MS. portion of which is now in the British Museum, obtained a considerable number of books from the great Buda Library; but not a single MS. in that collection can be satisfactorily traced to such an origin.

1 REISER: *Cat. bibl. Augs.*, p. 73.
2 STRUVE: *Introd. in notitiam rei lit.* p. 376.
3 NAUMANN: *Cat. bibl. Lips.* (xii.), 6.
4 HIRSCHING: *Beschr. sehensw. bibl.*, 2r. Bd., 459.
5 JAENICHEN: *De meritis Matth. Corvini*, 7, 8.
6 HARLESS: *Introd. ad hist. ling. Græcæ*, supp., tom. ii., p. 97.
7 KOVATZ: Art. printed in *Jenaische Litt. Zeitung*, of 1809, p. 389.
8 MONTFAUCON: *Bibl. MS.*, tom. ii., p. 1194.
9 DENIS: *Codd. Theol., &c.*, i. 211.
10 CHMEL: *Der Geschichtsforscher*, 2r. Bd., xxxvii.

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